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A NEW CONTINENT AND A NEW NATION

Volume One

Selected from

The American Reader

BY PAUL M. ANGLE

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rence and the Great Lakes, and then planted fortifications and settlements along the entire length of the Mississippi. On the Atlantic seaboard, tiny English colonies proliferated until they could count 3,000-000 inhabitants. Before they had reached that number they had reduced the French provinces of North America to two or three small pockets And, long before, they had accepted and nurtured the institution of Negro slavery, thus planting the seeds of future conflict on a scale beyond the range of the most vivid contemporary imagination. As the English colonies grew, so grew the spirit of independence and nationalism, culminating in a civil war within the British Empire which, to the amazement of the world, resulted in the founding of a new nation.

In this book these developments, of no inconsiderable importance, are described by participants or contemporary observers. Columbus tells the story of his first voyage, Cartier describes his discovery of the St. Lawrence, Captain John Smith recounts the founding of Jamestown and some of the colony's early tribulations. These are names renowned in history, but men of lesser reputation or no reputation at all make equally important contributions to the narrative: Captain Robert Orme of the Coldstream Guards, with a vivid account of Braddock's defeat; Ephraim Bowen, with his tale of the burning of the Gaspée; Surgeon Albigence Waldo, with a record at the same time stark and humorous of the horrors of Valley Forge. And many others.

I do not pretend that this collection, or any other like it, is history in its final, balanced form. The personal narrative, the diary entry, the contemporary record of an observer—these are too subjective, too near the event, often too prejudiced to be an adequate substitute for more formal history. Yet they



One •

1492—COLUMBUS DISCOVERS AMERICA

By the year 1491 a native of the Italian city of Genoa had become a familiar figure at the court of Spain. For seven years Cristoforo Columbo, whom we know as Christopher Columbus, had been begging Ferdinand and Isabella to sponsor a voyage of discovery beyond the western horizon.

Columbus was a zealot, but not an ignorant one. He had spent years at sea, and he had lived in Portugal, whose sailors were extending the map by their voyages along the western coast of Africa. He was convinced, like many informed men of his time, that the earth was round, and that one could reach the fabulous East, with its silks and spices and jewels, by sailing to the west. The Spanish monarchs were skeptical and several times rejected his proposals. But finally, in the fall of 1491, the Queen yielded to the determination and sincerity of Columbus and agreed to finance an expedition. In the following spring she gave her assent in a formal agreement.

If successful, the voyage would yield rich returns. Cargoes of "pearls, precious stones, gold, silver and spices" would build up the royal treasury, while Colum-

"The Voyages of Columbus and John Cabot," in Edward Gaylord Bourne, The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot (New York, 1906), 90-91, 106-10, 113.

coming. The Admiral was aware that most of the islands held by the Portuguese were discovered by the flight of birds. For this reason he resolved to give up the west course, and to shape a course W.S.W. for the two following days. He began the new course one hour before sunset. They made good, during the night, about 5 leagues, and 23 in the day, altogether 28 leagues.

Monday, 8th of October

The course was W.S.W., and 11½ or 12 leagues were made good in the day and night; and at times it appears that they went at the rate of 15 miles an hour during the night. . . . The sea was like the river at Seville. "Thanks be to God," says the Admiral, "the air is very soft like the April at Seville; and it is a pleasure to be here, so balmy are the breezes." The weed seemed to be very fresh. There were many land-birds, and they took one that was flying to the S.W. Terns, ducks, and a booby were also seen.

Tuesday, 9th of October

The course was S.W., and they made 5 leagues. The wind then changed, and the Admiral steered W. by N. 4 leagues. Altogether, in day and night, they made 11 leagues by day and 20½ leagues by night; counted as 17 leagues altogether. Throughout the night birds were heard passing.

Wednesday, 10th of October

The course was W.S.W., and they went at the rate of 10 miles an hour, occasionally 12 miles, and sometimes 7. During the day and night they made 59 leagues, counted as no more than 44. Here the people could endure no longer. They complained of the length of the voyage. But the Admiral cheered them up in the best way he could, giving them good hopes of the

advantages they might gain from it. He added that, however much they might complain, he had to go to the Indies, and that he would go on until he found them, with the help of our Lord.

Thursday, 11th of October

The course was W.S.W., and there was more sea than there had been during the whole of the voyage. They saw sandpipers, and a green reed near the ship. Those of the caravel *Pinta* saw a cane and a pole, and they took up another small pole which appeared to have been worked with iron; also another bit of cane, a land-plant, and a small board The crew of the caravel *Niña* also saw signs of land, and a small branch covered with berries. Every one breathed afresh and rejoiced at these signs The run until sunset was 27 leagues.

After sunset the Admiral returned to his original west course, and they went along at the rate of 12 miles an hour. Up to two hours after midnight they had gone 90 miles, equal to 22½ leagues As the caravel Pinta was a better sailer, and went ahead of the Admiral, she found the land, and made the signals ordered by the Admiral. The land was first seen by a sailor named Rodrigo de Triana. But the Admiral, at ten o'clock, being on the castle of the poop, saw a light, though it was so uncertain that he could not affirm it was land He called Pero Gutierrez, a gentleman of the King's bed-chamber, and said that there seemed to be a light, and that he should look at it. He did so, and saw it. The Admiral said the same to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, whom the King and Queen had sent with the fleet as inspector, but he could see nothing, because he was not in a place whence anything could be seen. After the Admiral had spoken he saw the light once or twice, and it was like a wax candle rising and falling. It seemed to few to be an indication of land, but the Admiral made certain the land was close. When they said the Salve, which all the sailors were accustomed to sing in their way, the Admiral asked and admoni ' d

the men to keep a good look-out on the forecastle, and to watch well for land, and to him who should first cry out that he saw land, he would give a silk doublet, besides the other rewards promised by the Sovereigns. . . . At two hours after midnight the land was sighted at a distance of two leagues. They shortened sail, and lay by under the mainsail without the bonnets.

Friday, 12th of October

The vessels were hove to, waiting for daylight; and on Friday they arrived at a small island of the Lucayos, called, in the language of the Indians, Guanahani.[2] Presently they saw naked people. The Admiral went on shore in the armed boat, and Martin Alonso Pinzon, and Vicente Yañez, his brother, who was the captain of the *Niña*. The Admiral took the royal standard, and the captains went with two banners of the green cross, which the Admiral took in all the ships as a sign, with an F and a Y [3] and a crown over each letter, one on one side of the cross and the other on the other. Having landed, they saw trees very green, and much water, and fruits of diverse kinds. The Admiral called to the two captains, and to the others who leaped on shore, and to Rodrigo Escovedo, secretary of the whole fleet, and to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and said that they should bear faithful testimony that he, in presence of all, had taken, as he now took, possession of the said island for the King and for the Queen his Lords, making the declarations that are required, as is now largely set forth in the testimonies which were then made in writing. . . .

This island is rather large and very flat, with bright green trees, much water, and a very large lake in the centre, without any mountain, and the whole land so green that it is a pleasure to look on it. The people are very docile, and for the longing to possess our things, and not having anything to give in return, they

2 Watling Island in the Bahamas, British West Indies.
3 For Ferdinand and Ysabel.

take what they can get, and presently swim away. Still, they give away all they have got, for whatever may be given to them, down to broken bits of crockery and glass I saw one give 16 skeins of cotton for three ceotis[4] of Portugal, equal to one blanca of Spain, the skeins being as much as an arroba of cotton thread. I shall keep it, and shall allow no one to take it, preserving it all for your Highnesses, for it may be obtained in abundance. It is grown in this island, though the short time did not admit of my ascertaining this for a certainty. Here also is found the gold they wear fastened in their noses But, in order not to lose time, I intend to go and see if I can find the island of Cipango.[5]

Two ·

1541—CORONADO FINDS STRAW HUTS INSTEAD OF GOLD

Columbus never found Cipango, or Cathay, or any of the other lands of the Far East. After four voyages he died unaware of the fact that he had discovered a new world. His countrymen, however, soon realized that new lands lay before them—lands which offered wealth, places of power, and souls to be saved for the glory of God. In conquests marked by incredible bravery and equal cruelty, Cortés took Mexico from the Aztecs, Pizarro seized Peru from the Incas.

The Spanish wanted more gold, even, than these

George Parker Winship, The Journey of Coronado, *1540–1542* (New York, 1922), 213-20.

[4] Small coins of the time.

[5] Japan. On this first voyage Columbus progressed no farther than the island of Hispaniola, now occupied by Haiti and Dominican Republic.

conquests afforded. When reports reached Coronado, governor of one of the northern districts of Mexico, that seven glittering cities stood in a region called Cíbola far to the north, he organized an expedition to conquer them. In early July, 1540, after months of arduous marching, he reached his destination, only to find that the fabled cities were adobe pueblos in what is now north central New Mexico.

But no Spaniard of Coronado's time could resist the lure of gold. When Indians told the Spanish commander of a rich city, called Quivira, far to the east, he decided that it might make up for the riches he had failed to find at Cíbola. On April 23, 1541, he set out from his camp near the present city of Albuquerque. Six months later he wrote a report of his expedition to Charles I of Spain.

Although Coronado had penetrated a new country as far, perhaps, as central Kansas, and had added much to geographical knowledge, he returned to Mexico a failure in his own eyes and in the view of the Spanish officials.

After nine days' march I reached some plains, so vast that I did not find their limit anywhere that I went, although I traveled over them for more than 300 leagues. And I found such a quantity of cows[6] in these, of the kind that I wrote Your Majesty about, which they have in this country, that it is impossible to number them, for while I was journeying through these plains, until I returned to where I first found them, there was not a day that I lost sight of them. And after seventeen days' march I came to a settlement of Indians who are called Querechos, who travel around with these cows, who do not plant, and who eat the raw flesh and drink the blood of the cows they kill, and they tan the skins of the cows, with which all the people of this country dress themselves here. They have little field tents made of the hides of the cows,

[6] Buffaloes.

tanned and greased, very well made, in which they live while they travel around near the cows, moving with these. They have dogs which they load, which carry their tents and poles and belongings. These people have the best figures of any that I have seen in the Indies. They could not give me any account of the country where the guides were taking me I traveled five days more as the guides wished to lead me, until I reached some plains, with no more landmarks than as if we had been swallowed up in the sea, where they strayed about, because there was not a stone, nor a bit of rising ground, nor a tree, nor a shrub, nor anything to go by. There is much very fine pasture land, with good grass. And while we were lost in these plains, some horsemen who went off to hunt cows fell in with some Indians who also were out hunting, who are enemies of those that I had seen in the last settlement, and of another sort of people who are called Teyas, they have their bodies and faces all painted, are a large people like the others, of a very good build, they eat the raw flesh just like the Querechos, and live and travel round with the cows in the same way as these. I obtained from these an account of the country where the guides were taking me, which was not like what they had told me, because these made out that the houses there were not built of stones, with stones, as my guides had described it, but of straw and skins, and a *small supply of corn there.*

This news troubled me greatly, to find myself on these limitless plains, where I was in great need of water, and often had to drink it so poor that it was more mud than water. Here the guides confessed to *me that they had not told the truth in regard to the* size of the houses, because these were of straw, but that they had done so regarding the large number of inhabitants and the other things about their habits. . . . It seemed to me best, in order to see if there was any*thing there of service to Your Majesty, to go forward* with only 30 horsemen until I should be able to see the country, so as to give Your Majesty a true

of what was to be found in it. I sent all the rest of the force I had with me to this province, with Don Tristan de Arellano in command, because it would have been impossible to prevent the loss of many men, if all had gone on, owing to the lack of water and because they also had to kill bulls and cows on which to sustain themselves. And with only the 30 horsemen whom I took for my escort, I traveled forty-two days after I left the force, living all this while solely on the flesh of the bulls and cows which we killed, at the cost of several of our horses which they killed, because, as I wrote Your Majesty, they are very brave and fierce animals; and going many days without water, and cooking the food with cow dung, because there is not any kind of wood in all these plains, away from the gullies and rivers, which are very few.

It was the Lord's pleasure that, after having journeyed across these deserts seventy-seven days, I arrived at the province they call Quivira, to which the guides were conducting me, and where they had described to me houses of stone, with many stories; and not only are they not of stone, but of straw, but the people in them are as barbarous as all those whom I have seen and passed before this; they do not have cloaks, nor cotton of which to make these, but use the skins of the cattle they kill, which they tan, because they are settled among these on a very large river. They eat the raw flesh like the Querechos and Teyas; they are enemies of one another, but are all of the same sort of people, and these at Quivira have the advantage in the houses they build and in planting corn. In this province of which the guides who brought me are natives, they received me peaceably, and although they told me when I set out for it that I could not succeed in seeing it all in two months, there are not more than 25 villages of straw houses there and in all the rest of the country that I saw and learned about, which gave their obedience to Your Majesty and placed themselves under your royal overlordship.

The province of Quivira is 950 leagues from Mexico.

Where I reached it, it is in the fortieth degree. The country itself is the best I have ever seen for producing all the products of Spain, for besides the land itself being very fat and black and being very well watered by the rivulets and springs and rivers, I found prunes like those of Spain and nuts and very good sweet grapes and mulberries. I have treated the natives of this province, and all the others whom I found wherever I went, as well as was possible, agreeably to what Your Majesty had commanded, and they have received no harm in any way from me or from those who went in my company. I remained twenty-five days in this province of Quivira, so as to see and explore the country and also to find out whether there was anything beyond which could be of service to Your Majesty, because the guides who had brought me had given me an account of other provinces beyond this And what I am sure of is that there is not any gold nor any other metal in all that country, and the other things of which they had told me are nothing but little villages, and in many of these they do not plant anything and do not have any houses except of skins and sticks, and they wander around with the cows; so that the account they gave me was false, because they wanted to persuade me to go there with the whole force, believing that as the way was through such uninhabited deserts, and from the lack of water, they would get us where we and our horses would die of hunger And the guides confessed this, and said they had done it by the advice and orders of the natives of these provinces At this, after having heard the account of what was beyond, which I have given above, I returned to these provinces to provide for the force I had sent back here and to give Your Majesty an account of what this country amounts to, because I wrote Your Majesty that I would do so when I went there.

Three •

1541—DE SOTO DISCOVERS THE MISSISSIPPI

While Coronado chased a will-o'-the-wisp in the Southwest, another Spaniard was engaged in the same vain search several hundred miles to the east and north.

Hernando De Soto had served with Pizarro in the conquest of Peru. Concluding that Florida held as much wealth as the land of the Incas, De Soto returned to Spain and obtained from the king permission to undertake the conquest. In the mother country and in Cuba, of which he was made governor, he raised a small army. In the late spring of 1539 the expedition landed on the shore of Charlotte Bay on the west coast of Florida.

De Soto marched north, then west, zigzagging back and forth over much of what is now the southeastern section of the United States. Always hunting the elusive gold, his men fought with the Indians, suffered casualties continuously, underwent constant hardships. In April, 1541, they came to the Mississippi River some thirty or thirty-five miles below the present city of Memphis, Tennessee.

In this account by "The Gentleman of Elvas," a member of the expedition, the Mississippi is not named, nor is it given much prominence in the narrative The explorers, as so often happens, did not realize the importance of their discovery.

"The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto by the Gentleman of Elvas," *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528–1534* (New York, 1907), 201–04.

Three days having gone by since some maize had been sought after, and but little found in comparison with the great want there was of it, the Governor[7] became obliged to move at once, notwithstanding the wounded had need of repose, to where there should be abundance. He accordingly set out for Quizquiz,[8] and marched seven days through a wilderness, having many pondy places, with thick forests, all fordable, however, on horseback, except some basins or lakes that were swum. He arrived at a town of Quizquiz without being descried, and seized all the people before they could come out of their houses. . . .

There was little maize in the place, and the Governor moved to another town, half a league from the great river,[9] where it was found in sufficiency. He went to look at the river, and saw that near it there was much timber of which piraguas[10] might be made, and a good situation in which the camp might be placed. He directly moved, built houses, and settled on a plain a crossbow-shot from the water, bringing together there all the maize of the towns behind, that at once they might go to work and cut down trees for sawing out planks to build barges. The Indians soon came from up the stream, jumped on shore, and told the Governor that they were the vassals of a great lord, named Aquixo, who was the suzerain of many towns and people on the other shore; and they made known from him, that he would come the day after, with all his people, to hear what his lordship would command him.

The next day the cacique[11] arrived, with two hundred canoes filled with men, having weapons. They were painted with ochre, wearing great bunches of white and other plumes of many colors, having feathered shields in their hands, with which they sheltered the oarsmen on either side, the warriors standing erect . . .

[7] De Soto.

[8] Roughly, what is now western Tennessee.

[9] The Mississippi

[10] Long narrow canoes hollowed from the

[11] Chief.

to stern, holding bows and arrows. The barge in which the cacique came had an awning at the poop, under which he sate; and the like had the barges of the other chiefs, and there, from under the canopy, where the chief man was, the course was directed and orders issued to the rest. All came down together, and arrived within a stone's cast of the ravine, whence the cacique said to the Governor, who was walking along the river-bank, with others who bore him company, that he had come to visit, serve, and obey him; for he had heard that he was the greatest of the lords, the most powerful on all the earth, and that he must see what he would have him do. The Governor expressed his pleasure, and besought him to land, that they might the better confer; but the chief gave no reply, ordering three barges to draw near, wherein was great quantity of fish, and loaves like bricks, made of the pulp of plums (persimmons), which Soto receiving, gave him thanks and again entreated him to land.

Making the gift had been a pretext, to discover if any harm might be done; but, finding the Governor and his people on their guard, the cacique began to draw off from the shore, when the crossbowmen who were in readiness, with loud cries shot at the Indians, and struck down five or six of them. They retired with great order, not one leaving the oar, even though the one next to him might have fallen, and covering themselves, they withdrew. Afterwards they came many times and landed; when approached, they would go back to their barges. These were fine-looking men, very large and well formed; and what with the awnings, the plumes, and the shields, the pennons, and the number of people in the fleet, it appeared like a famous armada of galleys.

During the thirty days that were passed there, four piraguas were built, into three of which, one morning, three hours before daybreak, the Governor ordered twelve cavalry to enter, four in each, men in whom he had confidence that they would gain the land notwithstanding the Indians, and secure the passage, or die; he also sent some crossbowmen of foot with them, and

in the other piragua, oarsmen, to take them to the opposite shore. He ordered Juan de Guzman to cross with the infantry, of which he had remained captain in the place of Francisco Maldonado, and because the current was stiff, they went up along the side of the river a quarter of a league, and in passing over they were carried down, so as to land opposite the camp, but, before arriving there, at twice the distance of a stone's cast, the horsemen rode out from the piraguas to an open area of hard and even ground, which they all reached without accident.

So soon as they had come to shore the piraguas returned; and when the sun was up two hours high, the people had all got over. The distance was near half a league· a man standing on the shore could not be told, whether he were a man or something else, from the other side The stream was swift, and very deep, the water, always flowing turbidly, brought along from above many trees and much timber, driven onward by its force There were many fish of several sorts, the greater part differing from those of the fresh waters of Spain.

Four ·

1542—DEATH COMES TO THE EXPLORER

After crossing the Mississippi, De Soto's men made their way through what is now Arkansas and then turned south. At a place called Autiamque on the Ouachita River they spent the bitter winter of 1541–42. With spring they took up their march again,

"The Narrative of . . . the Gentleman of Elvas," *Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528–15*

this time in a southeasterly direction. Mid-April found them on the west bank of the Mississippi. The lack of canoes and the hostility of the Indians kept them from crossing. There, on May 21, the intrepid Governor came to his end.

De Moscoso led the 320 survivors of the expedition to Panuco in Mexico, which they did not reach until the fall of 1543.

The Governor, conscious that the hour approached in which he should depart this life, commanded that all the King's officers should be called before him, the captains and the principal personages, to whom he made a speech. He said that he was about to go into the presence of God, to give account of all his past life; and since He had been pleased to take him away at such a time, and when he could recognize the moment of his death, he, His most unworthy servant, rendered Him hearty thanks. He confessed his deep obligations to them all, whether present or absent, for their great qualities, their love and loyalty to his person, well tried in the sufferance of hardship, which he ever wished *to honor, and had designed to reward, when the* Almighty should be pleased to give him repose from labor with greater prosperity to his fortune. He begged that they would pray for him, that through mercy he might be pardoned his sins, and his soul be received in glory: he asked that they would relieve him of the charge he held over them, as well of the indebtedness he was under to them all, as to forgive him any wrongs they might have received at his hands To prevent any divisions that might arise, as to who should command, he asked that they would be pleased to elect a principal and able person to be governor, one with whom they should all be satisfied, and, being chosen, they would swear before him to obey: that this would greatly satisfy him, abate somewhat the pains he suffered, and moderate the anxiety of leaving them in a country, they knew not where.

Baltasar de Gallegos responded in behalf of all, consoling him with remarks on the shortness of the

life of this world, attended as it was by so many toils and afflictions, saying that whom God earliest called away, He showed particular favor; with many other things appropriate to such an occasion: And finally, since it pleased the Almighty to take him to Himself, amid the deep sorrow they not unreasonably felt, it was necessary and becoming in him, as in them, to conform to the Divine Will: that as respected the election of a governor, which he ordered, whomsoever his Excellency should name to the command, him would they obey Thereupon the Governor nominated Luys Moscoso de Alvarado to be his captain-general, when by all those present was he straightway chosen and sworn Governor.

The next day, the twenty-first of May, departed this life the magnanimous, the virtuous, the intrepid captain, Don Hernando de Soto, Governor of Cuba and Adelantado of Florida. He was advanced by fortune, in the way she is wont to lead others, that he might fall the greater depth he died in a land, and at a time, that could afford him little comfort in his illness, when the danger of being no more heard from stared his companions in the face, each one himself having need of sympathy, which was the cause why they neither gave him their companionship nor visited him, as otherwise they would have done.

Luys de Moscoso determined to conceal what had happened from the Indians; for Soto had given them to understand that the Christians were immortal, besides, they held him to be vigilant, sagacious, brave; and, although they were at peace, should they know him to be dead, they, being of their nature inconstant, might venture on making an attack; and they were credulous of all that he had told them, for he made them believe that some things which went on among them privately, he had discovered without their being able to see how, or by what means; and that the figure which appeared in a mirror he showed, told him whatsoever they might be about, or desired to do, whence neither by word nor deed did they dare take any thing to his injury.

So soon as the death had taken place, Luys de Moscoso directed the body to be put secretly into a house, where it remained three days, and thence it was taken at night, by his order, to a gate of the town, and buried within. The Indians, who had seen him ill, finding him no longer, suspected the reason, and passing by where he lay, they observed the ground loose, and, looking about, talked among themselves. This coming to the knowledge of Luys de Moscoso, he ordered the corpse to be taken up at night, and among the shawls that enshrouded it having cast abundance of sand, it was taken out in a canoe and committed to the middle of the stream. The cacique of Guachoya asked for him, saying· "What has been done with my brother and lord, the Governor?" Luys de Moscoso told him that he had ascended into the skies, as he had done on many other occasions; but as he would have to be detained there some time, he had left him in his stead. The chief, thinking within himself that he was dead, ordered two well-proportioned young men to be brought, saying, that it was the usage of the country, when any lord died, to kill some persons, who should accompany and serve him on the way, on which account they were brought; and he told him to command their heads to be struck off, that they might go accordingly to attend his friend and master. Luys de Moscoso replied to him, that the Governor was not dead, but only gone into the heavens, having taken with him of his soldiers sufficient number for his need, and he besought him to let those Indians go, and from that time forward not to follow so evil a practice. They were presently ordered to be let loose, that they might return to their houses, but one of them refused to leave, alleging that he did not wish to remain in the power of one who, without cause, condemned him to die, and that he who had saved his life he desired to serve as long as he should live.

Five .

1534—CARTIER STAKES A CLAIM FOR FRANCE

While the Spanish were hunting for gold in the southern part of the newly discovered continent, and incidentally exploring it, the French were at work thousands of miles farther north. In the spring of 1534 Jacques Cartier, an experienced navigator, sailed from St. Malo for the new world with the blessing and financial support of the French king, Francis I. The expedition, consisting of two ships, each of sixty tons burthen, made its way across the north Atlantic to the east coast of Newfoundland, and then through Belle Isle Strait to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. By mid-July the explorers were in Gaspé Bay Delayed there, Cartier made a point of observing the Indians, undoubtedly the Hurons and Iroquois, and took possession of the country for his king.

We lay at the entrance until the 16th,[12] hoping to have good weather to go out. And the said day, the 16th, which was Thursday, the wind increased so much that one of our ships lost an anchor, and it behooved us to enter seven or eight leagues farther up this stream, in a good and safe harbor that we had been to see with our boats And owing to the evil weather, the storm and obscurity that it caused, we were in this harbor and stream until the 25th day of the said month, without being able to go out, during the which time we saw a great number of savages, who had come into

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James Phinney Baxter, *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier* York, 1906), 108—12.

[12] July 16, 1534.

the said stream to fish for mackerel, of of which there is great abundance; and there were men, women, and children as well, more than two hundred persons, who had about forty boats, who, after having been a little on land with them, came freely with their boats close alongside our ships We gave them knives, paternosters of glass, combs, and other articles of little worth, for which they made many signs of joy, raising their hands to the sky while singing and dancing in their boats. These people can well be called savages, because they are the poorest folks that there may be in the world, for altogether they have not the value of five sous, their boats and their fishing-nets excepted. They are wholly naked, except a little skin with which they cover their private parts, and some old skins of beasts which they throw over them scarf-wise They are not by nature nor tongue like the first we found They have their heads shorn close all about, except a tuft on the top of the head, which they leave long like a horse's tail, which they tie and bind upon their heads in a lump with thongs of leather. They have no other lodgings but under their said boats, which they turn over before lying down on the ground Under these they eat their flesh almost raw after being a little warmed on coals, and likewise their fish. We went on Magdalen Day with our boats to the place where they were on the shore of the stream, and landed freely among them; for which they showed great joy, and all the men began to sing and dance in two or three bands, making great signs of joy of our coming. But they had caused all the young women to flee into the woods, save two or three who remained, to whom we gave each a comb, and to each a little tin bell, wherefore they showed great joy, thanking the captain by stroking his arms and breast with their hands And seeing what he had given to those who had remained, they made those return who had fled to the woods, in order to get from him as much as the others, who were quite a score, who gathered about the said captain, while stroking him with their hands, which is their style of endear-

ment, and he gave them each her little tin bell of small value, and immediately they assembled together to chatter and sing a number of songs. We found a great quantity of mackerel that they had caught near the shore with the nets which they have for fishing, which are of hemp that grows in their country where they ordinarily abide; for they only come to the sea in the season of fishing, as far as I have learned and understood. Likewise there grows a large millet like peas, the same as in Brazil, which they eat in place of bread, of which they have full plenty with them, which they name in their language Kagaige.[13] . . . If one shows them anything of which they may not have and which they do not know what it is, they shake their heads and say, "Nouda," which is to say that there is not any of it and they know not what it is. Of the things which they have they showed us by signs in what manner it grows, and how they dress it. They never eat a thing wherein there may be a taste of salt. They are to a marvelous degree thieves of all that they can steal.

The 24th day of the said month we caused a cross to be made thirty feet in height, which was made before a number of them on the point at the entrance of the said harbor, on the cross-bar of which we put a shield embossed with three fleurs-de-lis, and above where it was an inscription graven in wood in letters of large form, "VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE." And this cross we planted on the said point before them, the which they beheld us make and plant; and after it was raised in the air we all fell on our knees, with hands joined, while adoring it before them, and made them signs, looking up and showing them the sky, that by it was our redemption, for which they showed much admiration, turning and beholding the cross.

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[13] Maize, or Indian corn

Six •

1535—CARTIER DISCOVERS THE ST. LAWRENCE AND GIVES MOUNT ROYAL ITS NAME

A few days after planting the cross at Gaspé Bay, Cartier set sail for France. The following summer he returned, this time with three ships. At Blanc Sablon on Belle Isle Strait, the place of rendezvous for his little fleet, he heard for the first time of the great river of Canada and a populous town called Hochelaga on an island in the river hundreds of miles inland. He decided to ascend that far, even though he had learned enough about the river to be sure that it was not the coveted passage to the Far East.

About September 12, 1535, Cartier entered the broad St Lawrence Two weeks later he found a good harbor at the site of the present city of Quebec There he left his ships and continued the journey in small boats. On October 2 the party reached its destination, the future city of Montreal.

We navigated with weather at will until the second day of October, when we arrived at the said Hochelaga, which is about forty-five leagues distant from the place where the said pinnace was left, during which time and on the way we found many folks of the country, the which brought us fish and other victuals, dancing and showing great joy at our coming. And to attract and hold them in amity with us, the said captain gave them for recompense some knives, paternosters, and other trivial goods, with which they were much content. And we having arrived at the said Hochelaga, more than a thousand persons presented themselves before us, men, women, and children alike, the which gave us as good reception as ever father did to child,

Baxter, *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier,* 161–71.

showing marvelous joy; for the men in one band danced, the women on their side and the children on the other, the which brought us store of fish and of their bread made of coarse millet, which they cast into our said boats in a way that it seemed as if it tumbled from the air. Seeing this, our said captain landed with a number of his men, and as soon as he was landed they gathered all about him, and about all the others, giving them an unrestrained welcome. And the women brought their children in their arms to make them touch the said captain and others, making a rejoicing which lasted more than half an hour And our captain, witnessing their liberality and good will, caused all the women to be seated and ranged in order, and gave them certain paternosters of tin and other trifling things, and to a part of the men knives. Then he retired on board the said boats to sup and pass the night, while these people remained on the shore of the said river nearest the said boats all night, making fires and dancing, crying all the time "Aguyazel" which is their expression of mirth and joy.

The next day, in the early morning, the captain attired himself and had his men put in order to go to see the town and habitation of the said people, and a mountain that is adjacent to their said town, whither the gentlemen and twenty mariners went with the said captain, and left the rest for the guard of the boats, and took three men of the said town of Hochelaga to bring and conduct them to the said place And we, being on the road, found it as well beaten as it might be possible to behold, and the fairest and best land, all full of oaks as fine as there may be in a forest of France, under the which all the ground was covered with acorns. And we, having marched about a league and a half, found on the way one of the chief lords of the said town of Hochelaga, accompanied by a number of persons, the which made us a sign that we should rest at the said place near a fire that they had made by the said road, which we did, and then the said lord began to make a discourse and oration,

as heretofore is said to be their custom of showing joy and familiarity, this lord thereby showing welcome to the said captain and his company; the which captain gave him a couple of hatchets and a couple of knives, with a cross and memorial of the crucifixion, which he made him kiss, and hung it on his neck, for which he rendered thanks to the said captain. This done, we marched farther on, and about a half-league from there we began to find the land cultivated, and fair, large fields full of grain of their country, which is like Brazil millet, as big or bigger than peas, on which they live just as we do on wheat, and in the midst of these fields is located and seated the town of Hochelaga, near to and adjoining a mountain, which is cultivated round about it and highly fertile, from the summit of which one sees a very great distance. We named the said mountain Mont Royal. The said town is quite round and inclosed with timbers in three rows in the style of a pyramid, crossed at the top, having the middle row in the style of a perpendicular line, then ranged with timbers laid along, well joined and tied in their manner, and is in height about two pikes There is in this town but one gate and entrance, which fastens with bars, upon which and in many places of the said inclosure there are kinds of galleries and ladders to mount to them, which are furnished with rocks and stones for the guard and defense of it. There are within this town about fifty long houses of about fifty paces or more each, and twelve or fifteen paces wide, and all made of timbers covered and garnished with great pieces of bark and strips of the said timber, as broad as tables, well tied artificially according to their manner. And within these there are many lodgings and chambers, and in the middle of these houses there is a great room on the ground where they make their fire and live in common; after that the men retire with their wives and children to their said chambers.

When we had arrived near the town, a great number of the inhabitants of it presented themselves before us, who, after their fashion of doing, gave us a good

reception; and by our guides and conductors we were brought to the middle of the town, where there was a place between the houses the extent of a stone's throw or about in a square, who made us a sign that we should stop at the said place, which we did And suddenly all the women and girls of the said town assembled together, a part of whom were burdened with children in their arms, and who came to us to stroke our faces, arms, and other places upon our bodies that they could touch; weeping with joy to see us; giving us the best welcome that was possible to them, and making signs to us that it might please us to touch their said children. After the which things the men made the women retire, and seated themselves on the ground about us, as if we might wish to play a mystery. And, suddenly, a number of men came again, who brought each a square mat in the fashion of a carpet, and spread them out upon the ground in the middle of the said place and made us rest upon them After which things were thus done there was brought by nine or ten men the king and lord of the country, whom they call in their language Agohanna, who was seated upon a great skin of a stag, and they came to set him down in the said place upon the said mats beside our captain, making us a sign that he was their king and lord. This Agohanna was about the age of fifty years, and was not better appareled than the others, save that he had about his head a kind of red band for his crown, made of the quills of porcupines; and this lord was wholly impotent and diseased in his limbs After he made his sign of salutation to the said captain and to his folks, making them evident signs that they should make them very welcome, he showed his arms and legs to the said captain, praying that he would touch them, as though he would beg healing and health from him; and then the captain began to stroke his arms and legs with his hands; whereupon the said Agohanna took the band and crown that he had upon his head and gave it to our captain; and immediately there were brought to the said captain many sick ones, as

one-eyed, lame, impotent, and folks so very old that the lids of their eyes hung down even upon their cheeks, setting and laying them down nigh to our said captain for him to touch them, so that it seemed as if God had descended there in order to cure them.

Our said captain, seeing the misery and faith of this said people, recited the Gospel of St. John. to wit, the *In principio*, making the sign of the cross on the poor sick ones, praying God that he might give them knowledge of our holy faith and the passion of our Saviour, and grace to receive Christianity and baptism. Then our said captain took a prayer-book and read full loudly, word by word, the passion of our Lord, so that all the bystanders could hear it, while all these poor people kept a great silence and were marvelously good hearers, looking up to heaven and making the same ceremonies that they saw us make, after which the captain made all the men range themselves on one side, the women on another, and the children another, and gave to the chiefs hatchets, to the others knives, and the women paternosters and other trifling articles; then he threw into the midst of the place among the little children some small rings and Agnus Dei of tin, at which they showed a marvelous joy. This done, the said captain commanded the trumpets and other instruments of music to sound, with which the said people were greatly delighted, after which things we took leave of them and withdrew. Seeing this, the women put themselves before us for to stop us, and brought us of their victuals, which they had prepared for us, as fish, stews, beans, and other things, thinking to make us eat and dine at the said place, and because their victuals were not to our taste and had no savor of salt, we thanked them, making them a sign that we did not need to eat.

After we had issued from the said town many men and women came to conduct us upon the mountain aforesaid, which was by us named Mont Royal, distant from the said place some quarter of a league; and we, being upon this mountain, had sight and observance for more than thirty leagues round about it. Toward

the north of which is a range of mountains which stretches east and west, and toward the south as well; between which mountains the land is the fairest that it may be possible to see, smooth, level, and tillable; and in the middle of the said lands we saw the said river beyond the place where our boats were left, where there is a waterfall, the most impetuous that it may be possible to see, and which it was impossible for us to pass. And we saw this river as far as one could discern, grand, broad, and extensive, which flowed toward the southwest and passed near three fair, round mountains which we saw and estimated that they were about fifteen leagues from us. And we were told and shown by signs by our said three men of the country who had conducted us that there were three such falls of water on the said river like that where our said boats were, but we could not understand what the distance was between the one and the other. Then they showed us by signs that, the said falls being passed, one could navigate more than three moons by the said river; and beyond they showed us that along the said mountains, being toward the north, there is a great stream, which descends from the west like the said river We reckoned that this is the stream which passes by the realm and province of Saguenay, and, without having made them any request or sign, they took the chain from the captain's whistle, which was of silver, and the haft of a poniard, the which was of copper, yellow like gold, which hung at the side of one of our mariners, and showed that it came from above the said river, and that there were Agojuda, which is to say evil folks, the which are armed even to the fingers, showing us the style of their armor, which is of cords and of wood laced and woven together, giving us to understand that the said Agojuda carried on continual war against one another; but by default of speech we could not learn how far it was to the said country. Our captain showed them some red copper, which they call caignetdaze, pointing them toward the said place, and asking by signs if it came from there, and they began to

their heads, saying no, and showing that it came from Saguenay, which is to the contrary of the preceding. After which things thus seen and understood, we withdrew to our boats, which was not without being conducted by a great number of the said people, of which part of them, when they saw our folk weary, loaded them upon themselves, as upon horses, and carried them. And we, having arrived at our said boats, made sail to return to our pinnace, for doubt that there might be some hindrance; which departure was not made without great regret of the said people, for as far as they could follow us down the said river they would follow us, and we accomplished so much that we arrived at our said pinnace Monday, the fourth day of October.

Seven •

1565—PEDRO MENENDEZ FOUNDS ST. AUGUSTINE

The European nations exploring the North American continent and founding colonies there would sooner or later clash. The French were secure enough while they remained in the valley of the St. Lawrence, but when they attempted to plant settlements of Huguenots on the east coast of Florida they invited trouble. One such colony, called Fort Caroline, was located near the mouth of the St. Johns River. This move the Spanish countered by establishing St. Augustine, now the oldest city in the United States. The

"Memoir of Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales," in *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, Second Series (New York, 1875), II, 215–21.

account that follows was written at the time by one of the men from the fleet of the Spanish commander, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.

In the fall of 1565 a storm wrecked the French fleet protecting Fort Caroline. Soon afterward the fort fell to the Spanish, and most of the Huguenots, being heretics as well as Frenchmen, were massacred Thus ended France's attempt to break the hold of Spain on the lands which the conquistadors had discovered.

On Thursday, just as day appeared, we sailed towards the vessel at anchor, passed very close to her, and would certainly have captured her, when we saw another vessel appear on the open sea, which we thought was one of ours. At the same moment, however, we thought we recognized the French admiral's ship. We perceived the ship on the open sea; it was the French galley of which we had been in pursuit Finding ourselves between these two vessels, we decided to direct our course toward the galley, for the sake of deceiving them and preventing them from attacking us, so as not to give them any time to wait. This bold maneuver having succeeded, we sought the river *Seloy* and port, of which I have spoken, where we had the good fortune to find our galley, and another vessel which had planned the same thing we had. Two companies of infantry now disembarked, that of Captain Andres Soyez Patino, and that of Captain Juan de San Vincente, who is a very distinguished gentleman They were well received by the Indians, who gave them a large house belonging to a chief, and situated near the shore of the river Immediately Captain Patino and Captain San Vincente, both men of talent and energy, ordered an intrenchment to be built around this house, with a slope of earth and fascines, these being the only means of defense possible in that country, where stones are nowhere to be found Up to to-day we have disembarked twenty-four pieces of bronze guns of different calibers, of which the least weighed fifteen hundred-weight Our fort is at a distance of about fifteen

from that of the enemy (Fort Carolin). The energy and talents of those two brave captains, joined to the efforts of their brave soldiers, who had no tools with which to work the earth, accomplished the construction of this fortress of defense; and when the general disembarked, he was quite surprised with what had been done.

On Saturday, the 8th, the general landed with many banners spread, to the sound of trumpets and salutes of artillery. As I had gone ashore the evening before, I took a cross and went to meet him, singing the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*. The general marched up to the cross, followed by all who accompanied him, and there they all kneeled and embraced the cross. A large number of Indians watched these proceedings and imitated all they saw done. The same day the general took formal *possession of the country in the name of his Majesty, and all the captains took the oath of allegiance to him, as their general and governor of the country.* When this ceremony was ended, he offered to do everything in his power for them, especially for Captain Patino, who during the whole voyage had ardently served the cause 'f God and of the King; and, I think, will be rewarded for his assiduity and talents in constructing a fort in which to defend ourselves until the arrival of help from St. Domingo and Havana. The French number about as many as we do, and perhaps more. My advice to the general was not to attack the enemy, but to let the troops rest all winter and wait for the assistance daily expected; and then we may hope to make a successful attack.

God and the holy Virgin have performed another great miracle in our favor.

Eight ·

1607—CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH DESCRIBES THE FOUNDING OF JAMESTOWN

In the century that followed the discovery of the new world the Spanish established themselves in the southeastern part of the present United States and in Mexico; the French penetrated the valley of the St. Lawrence. The English lagged far behind their continental rivals Not until 1585 did they attempt to plant a colony in North America. In that year Sir Walter Raleigh, a favorite of Queen Elizabeth, sent a group of 108 men to Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina, which had been explored by an expedition the preceding year. In the spring of 1586 all but fifteen returned to England When Raleigh sent a second group of colonists the next year, the newcomers found only bones and the ruins of a fort and houses. They themselves were to meet the same fate as their predecessors. No English ship visited Roanoke Island until 1591. By that time no trace of the settlement remained.

Fifteen years passed before the English made another attempt. In 1606 the Virginia Company of London sent out three ships. On May 13, 1607, the captains cast anchor at an island in the broad James River. The site, a poor one, pleased the majority of the colonists; there they would stay.

Among the leaders of the group was Captain John Smith, who appears to have spent most of his adult life—he was only twenty-eight—as a soldier of fortune A year after the landing Smith sent back to England a "True Relation" in which he described the founding of Jamestown, the first contacts with the Indians, and

"A True Relation," in Lyon G Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606–1625* (New York, 1907), 32–38.

the hardships that marked the colony's first year.

Kinde Sir, commendations remembred, &c. You shall understand that after many crosses in the downes by tempests, wee arrived safely uppon the Southwest part of the great Canaries: within foure or five daies after we set saile for Dominica, the 26. of Aprill: the first land we made, wee fell with Cape Henry, the verie mouth of the Bay of Chissiapiacke, which at that present we little expected, having by a cruell storme bene put to the Northward. Anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a shore with the Captain,[14] and in coming aboard, they were assalted with certaine Indians which charged them within Pistoll shot: in which conflict, Captaine Archer and Mathew Morton were shot: wherupon Captaine Newport seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but having spent their arrowes retyred without harme. And in that place was the Box opened, wherein the Counsell for Virginia was nominated:[15] and arriving at the place where wee are now seated, the Counsel was sworn, and the President elected, which for that yeare was Maister Edm. Maria Wingfield, where was made choice for our scituation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Gosnold: notwithstanding, all our provision was brought a shore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification. . . .

Captaine Newport having set things in order, set saile for England the 22d of June, leaving provision for 13. or 14 weeks. The day before the Ships departure,

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[14] Captain Christopher Newport, who commanded the *Susan Constant* (100 tons) and the entire expedition. The other ships were the *Godspeed* (40 tons), Captain Bartholomew Gosnold; and the *Discovery* (20 tons), Captain John Ratcliffe. The three ships carried 144 persons.

[15] The colonists had been given a box which was not to be opened until they had reached their destination. It contained the names of the councilors who were to govern the colony.

the King of Pamaunke sent the Indian that had met us before in our discoverie, to assure us peace, our fort being then palisadoed round, and all our men in good health and comfort, albeit, that through some discontented humors, it did not so long continue, for the President and Captaine Gosnold, with the rest of the Counsell, being for the moste part discontented with one another, in so much, that things were neither carried with that discretion nor any busines effected in such good sort as wisdome would, nor our owne good and safetie required, whereby, and through the hard dealing of our President, the rest of the counsell beeing diverslie affected through his audacious commaund, and for Captaine Martin, albeit verie honest, and wishing the best good, yet so sicke and weake; and my selfe so disgrac'd through others mallice through which disorder God (being angrie with us) plagued us with such famin and sicknes, that the living were scarce able to bury the dead our want of sufficient and good victualls, with continuall watching, foure or five each night at three Bulwarkes, being the chiefe cause, onely of Sturgion wee had great store, whereon our men would so greedily surfet, as it cost manye their lives: the Sack, Aquavitie, and other preservatives for our health, being kept onely in the Presidents hands, for his owne diet, and his few associates. Shortly after Captaine Gosnold fell sicke, and within three weekes died, Captaine Ratcliffe being then also verie sicke and weake, and my selfe having also tasted of the extremitie therof, but by Gods assistance being well recovered, Kendall about this time, for divers reasons deposed from being of the Councell. and shortly after it pleased God (in our extremity) to move the Indians to bring us Corne, ere it was halfe ripe, to refresh us, when we rather expected when they would destroy us· about the tenth of September there was about 46. of our men dead, at which time Captaine Wingfield having ordered the affaires in such sort that he was generally hated of all, in which respect with one consent he was deposed from his presidencie, and Captaine Ratcliffe to his course was elected.

Our provisions being now within twentie dayes spent, the Indians brought us great store both of Corne and bread ready made: and also there came such aboundance of Fowles into the Rivers, as greatly refreshed our weake estates, whereuppon many of our weake men were presently able to goe abroad. As yet we had no houses to cover us, our Tents were rotten and our Cabbins worse then nought· our best commoditie was Yron which we made into little chissels. The president and Captaine Martins sicknes, constrayned me to be Cape Marchant, and yet to spare no paines in making houses for the company; who notwithstanding our misery, little ceased their mallice, grudging, and muttering. As at this time were most of our chiefest men either sicke or discontented, the rest being in such dispaire, as they would rather starve and rot with idlenes, then be perswaded to do any thing for their owne reliefe without constraint: our victualles being now within eighteene dayes spent, and the Indians trade decreasing, I was sent to the mouth of the river, to Kegquouhtan an Indian Towne, to trade for Corne, and try the River for Fish, but our fishing we could not effect by reason of the stormy weather. The Indians thinking us neare famished, with carelesse kindnes, offred us little pieces of bread and small handfulls of beanes or wheat, for a hatchet or a piece of copper: In like manner I entertained their kindnes, and in like scorne offered them like commodities, but the Children, or any that shewed extraordinary kindnes, I liberally contented with free gifte, such trifles as wel contented them. Finding this colde comfort, I anchored before the Towne, and the next day returned to trade, but God (the absolute disposer of all heartes) altered their conceits, for now they were no lesse desirous of our commodities then we of their Corne; under colour to fetch fresh water, I sent a man to discover the Towne, their Corne, and force, to trie their intent, in that they desired me up to their houses: which well understanding, with foure shot I visited them. With fish, oysters, bread, and deere, they kindly traded with me and my men, beeing no lesse in doubt of my intent, then I of theirs; for well I might

with twentie men have fraighted a Shippe with Corne. The Towne conteineth eighteene houses, pleasantly seated upon three acres of ground, uppon a plaine, halfe invironed with a great Bay of the great River, the other parte with a Baye of the other River falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile fit for a Castle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adjoyning to the maine by a necke of Land of sixtie yardes. With sixteene bushells of Corne I returned towards our Forte: by the way I encountered with two Canowes of Indians, who came aboord me, being the inhabitants of Waroskoyack, a kingdome on the south side of the river, which is in breadth 5. miles and 20 mile or neare from the mouth With these I traded, who having but their hunting provision, requested me to return to their Towne, where I should load my boat with corne: and with near thirtie bushells I returned to the fort, the very name wherof gave great comfort to our desparing company.

Nine ·

1608—POCAHONTAS SAVES THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

Everyone knows the story of Pocahontas, the Indian princess who saved John Smith's life by throwing herself over him as he lay on the ground with warriors about to club him to death. Smith himself told the tale, which may or may not be true—the Captain was sometimes free with his facts—in his Generall Historie of Virginia.

If ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit

In Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 326–27.

any meanes to bee thankful. So it is, that some ten yeers agoe being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan their chiefe King, I received from this great Salvage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne Nantaquaus, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a Salvage, and his sister Pocahontas, the Kings most deare and wel-beloved daughter, being but a childe of twelve or thirteene yeeres of age, whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her. I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants ever saw; and thus enthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to prevent, notwithstanding al their threats. After some six weeks fatting amongst those Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to save mine; and not onely that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to James towne. where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of Virginia, such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Salvages not fed us, we directly had starved.

And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought us by this Lady Pocahontas. Notwithstanding all these passages, when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jarres have beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplyed; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the utmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee, having but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eies gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her. James towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers

habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, she next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this Colonie from death, famine and utter confusion; which if in those times, had once beene dissolved, Virginia might have line as it was at our first arrivall to this day Since then, this businesse having beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at. it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie; all which time shee was not heard of. About two yeeres after shee her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieved, peace concluded; and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, was maried to an English Gentleman[15], with whom at this present she is in England, the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a childe in marriage by an Englishman: a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well understood, worthy a Princes understanding.

Ten ·

1620—THE PURITANS LAND AT PLYMOUTH

Thirteen years after the founding of Jamestown another group of English colonists set out for North America They were mostly Puritans, so dissatisfied with the Church of England that they had lived for

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William Bradford, History of the Plymouth Plantation, *1620–1647* (Boston, 1912), I, 149–55.

[15] John Rolfe, a Jamestown colonist, fell in love with Pocahontas, and married her in April, 1614. In 1616 he took her to England, where she died a year later.

eleven years in Holland, where they could worship as they chose. Yet above all they were Englishmen, and unwilling to see their sons and daughters become citizens of a foreign land. So they chose to found a colony in Virginia.

The Puritans left Holland in the summer of 1620 for England. There, at Plymouth, they boarded the Mayflower *along with a considerable number of adventurers more interested in finding wealth than the peace of God. The voyage began on September 6. Two months and a few days later the little ship dropped anchor off the coast of Cape Cod, hundreds of miles north of its destination.*

The story of the voyage, an anxious one, is told in the words of William Bradford, who would be elected governor of Plymouth Colony within a few months.

Septr. 6. These troubles being blowne over, and now all being compacte togeather in one shipe, they put to sea againe with a prosperus winde, which continued *diverce days togeather, which was some incouragmente* unto them, yet according to the usuall maner many were afflicted with sea-sicknes. And I may not omite hear a spetiall worke of Gods providence. Ther was a proud and very profane yonge man, one of the sea-men, of a lustie, able body, which made him the more hauty; he would allway be contemning the poore people in their sicknes, and cursing them dayly with gree[v]ous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast halfe of them over board before they came to their jurneys end, and to make mery with what they had; and if he were by any gently reproved, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pl[e]ased God before they came halfe seas over, to smite this yonge man with a greeveous disease, of which he dyed in a desperate maner, and so was him selfe the first that was throwne overbord. Thus his curses light on his owne head, and it was an astonishmente to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the hand of God upon him.

After they had injoyed faire winds and weather for a season, they were incountred many times with crosse

winds, and mette with many feirce stormes, with which the shipe was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leakie; and one of the maine beames in the midd ships was bowed and craked, which put them in some fear that the shipe could not be able to performe the vioage. So some of the cheefe of the company, perceiving the mariners to feare the suffisiencie of the shipe, as appeared by their mutterings, they entred into serious consultation with the m[aste]r and other officers of the ship, to consider in time of the danger; and rather to returne then to cast them selves into a desperate and inevitable perill. And truly ther was great distraction and difference of oppinion amongst the mariners them selves, faine would they doe what could be done for their wages sake, (being now halfe the seas over,) and on the other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperatly. But in examening of all oppinions, the m[aste]r and others affirmed they knew the ship to be stronge and firme underwater; and for the buckling of the maine beame, ther was a great iron scrue the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beame into his place, the which being done, the carpenter and m[aste]r affirmed that with a post under it, set firme in the lower deck, and otherways bounde, he would make it sufficiente. And as for the decks and uper workes they would calke them as well as they could, and though with the workeing of the ship they would not longe keepe stanch, yet ther would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they commited them selves to the will of God, and resolved to proseede. In sundrie of these stormes the winds were so feirce, and the seas so high, as they could not beare a knote of saile, but were forced to hull, for diverce days togither. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storme, a lustie yonge man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above the grattings, was, with a seele of the shipe throwne into [the] sea, but it pleased God that he caught hould of the top-saile halliards, which ' over board, and rane out at length, yet he held hould (though he was sundrie fadomes under

till he was hald up by the same rope to the brime of the water, and then with a boathooke and other means got into the shipe againe, and his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church and commone wealthe. In all this viage their died but one of the passengers, which was William Butten, a youth, servant to Samuell Fuller, when they drew near the coast But to omite other things, (that I may be breefe,) after longe beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod, the which being made and certainly knowne to be it, they were not a litle joyfull. After some deliberation had amongst them selves and with the m[aste]r of the ship, they tacked aboute and resolved to stande for the southward (the wind and weather being faire) to finde some place aboute Hudsons river for the habitation. But after they had sailed that course aboute halfe the day, they fell amongst deangerous shoulds and roring breakers, and they were so farr intangled ther with as they conceived them selves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought them selves hapy to gett out of those dangers before night overtooke them, as by Gods good providence they did. And the next day they gott into the Cape-harbor wher they ridd in saftie. A word or too by the way of this cape; it was thus first named by Capten Gosnole and his company, Anno. 1602, and after by Capten Smith was caled Cape James; but it retains the former name amongst sea-men. Also that pointe which first shewed those dangerous shoulds unto them, they called Pointe Care, and Tuckers Terrour; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabarr, by reason of those perilous shoulds, and the losses they have suffered their

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God in heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the periles and miseries therof, againe to set their feete on the firme

and stable earth, their proper elements. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his owne Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time, so tedious and dreadfull was the same unto him.

Eleven ·

1620—THE PLYMOUTH SETTLERS MAKE A COMPACT

Before the MAYFLOWER *passengers had left England the Virginia Company had given them a patent granting them certain rights of self-government, but the document would have no standing in the far-off region where they had chosen to settle. The "strangers"—the fortune-hunters who had joined the group from other than religious motives—were already threatening to go their own way as soon as the colony was established. How the Pilgrims met this crisis, planted the seed of democracy by forming the Mayflower Compact, and survived their first few months in the harsh surroundings of New England, is related by Governor Bradford.*

I shall a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came a shore, being the first foundation of their govermente in this place; occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship; That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had

History of the *Plymouth Plantation*, I, 189–96.

power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New england, which belonged to an other Goverment, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that shuch an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure.

The forme was as followeth.

"In the name of God, Amen We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc.

"Haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutualy in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame shuch just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd the ·11· of November, in the year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fiftie fourth. Anno Dom. 1620."

After this they chose or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver, (a man godly and well approved amongst them) their Governor for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or comone store, (which were long in unlading for want of boats, foulnes of the winter weather, and sicknes of diverce,) and begune some small cottages for their habitation, as time would admitte, they mette and consulted of lawes and

continuing, they were not wanting to any that had need of them And I doute not but their recompence is with the Lord.

Twelve ·

1637—THE CONNECTICUT SETTLERS WIPE OUT THE PEQUOTS

In spite of poor soil and harsh winters New England attracted settlers in ever-growing numbers. Between 1629 and 1640 so many discontented Englishmen left the home country that historians have labelled this period the years of the "Great Migration." Perhaps 20,000 found their way to the newly established colonies—Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island.

Sooner or later a clash with the Indians was inevitable. The Pequots, a warlike tribe which lived in the southeastern part of Connecticut, had given trouble for several years, but no serious attempt was made to punish them until the spring of 1637, when the Indians murdered nine settlers. The colonists raised a force of ninety men, placed them under the command of Captain John Mason, and, with the aid of several hundred Mohegans and Narragansetts, set out to teach their enemies a lesson. In the conflict that followed, the Pequots were practically exterminated.

This account of early Indian warfare was written by Captain Mason himself, a Connecticut colonist who had served with English troops in the Low Countries before emigrating in 1633.

On the Thursday about eight of the Clock in the

John Mason, "A Brief History of the Pequot War," in Charles Orr, History of the Pequot War (Cleveland, 1897), 25-29, 36-40.

Morning, we Marched thence towards Pequot, with about five hundred Indians: But through the Heat of the Weather and want of Provisions some of our Men fainted. And having Marched about twelve Miles, we came to Pawcatuck River, at a Ford where our Indians told us the Pequots did usually Fish; there making an Alta, we stayed some small time. . . .

And after we had refreshed our selves with our mean Commons, we Marched about three Miles, and came to a Field which had lately been planted with Indian Corn: There we made another Alt, and called our Council, supposing we drew near to the Enemy· and being informed by the Indians that the Enemy had two Forts almost impregnable; but we were not at all Discouraged, but rather Animated, in so much that we were resolved to Assault both their Forts at once. But understanding that one of them was so remote that we could not come up with it before Midnight, though we Marched hard, whereat we were much grieved, chiefly because the greatest and bloodiest Sachem there resided, whose name was Sassacous We were then constrained, being *exceedingly spent in our March with extream Heat* and want of Necessaries, to accept of the nearest. . . .

In the Morning, we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our Opportunity, having purposed to make our Assault before Day, rowsed the Men with all expedition, and briefly commended ourselves and Design to God, thinking immediately to go to the Assault; the Indians shewing us a Path, told us that it led directly to the Fort. We held on our March about two Miles, wondering that we came not to the Fort, and fearing we might be deluded But seeing Corn newly planted at the Foot of a great Hill, supposing the Fort was not far off, a Champion Country being round about us, then making a stand, gave the Word for some of the Indians to come up At length Onkos and one Wequash appeared, We demanded of them, Where was the F[illegible] They answered On the Top of that Hill Then we [illegible]manded, Where were the Rest of the Indians? T[illegible] swered, Behind, exceedingly afraid. We wished [illegible]

tell the rest of their Fellows, That they should by n
means *Fly*, but *stand at what distance they pleased*, a
see whether English Men would now Fight or n
Then Capt. Underhill came up, who Marched in t
Rear; and commending ourselves to God, divided o
Men: There being two Entrances into the Fort, i
tending to enter both at once: Captain Mason leadi
up to that on the North East Side; who approachi
within one Rod, heard a Dog bark and an Indian cryi
Owanux! Owanux! which is Englishmen! Englishme
We called up our Forces with all *expedition*, gave Fi
upon them through the Pallizado; the Indians being i
a dead indeed their last Sleep: Then we wheeling o
fell upon the main Entrance, which was blocked u
with Bushes about Breast high, over which the Captai
passed, intending to make good the Entrance, ecourag
ing the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavoured t
enter; but being somewhat cumbred, stepped bac
and pulled out the Bushes and so entred, and with hi
about sixteen Men: We had formerly concluded to
destroy them by the Sword and save the Plunder.

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, en-
ed a wigwam; where he was beset with many Indians,
iting all opportunities to lay Hands on him, but
could not prevail. At length William Heydon espying
the Breach in the Wigwam, supposing some English
might be there, entred; but in his Entrance fell over
a dead Indian, but speedily recovering himself, the In-
dians some fled, others crept under their Beds: The
Captain going out of the Wigwam saw many Indians in
the Lane or Street, he making towards them, they fled,
were pursued to the End of the Lane, where they were
met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some
others; where seven of them were Slain, as they said.
The Captain facing about, Marched a slow Pace up the
Lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out
of Breath; and coming to the other End near the Place
where he first entred, saw two Soldiers standing close
to the Pallizado with their Swords pointed to the
Ground: The Captain told them that We should never
kill them after that manner: The Captain also said,

We must Burn them; and immediately stepping into the Wigwam where he had been before, brought out a Firebrand, and putting it into the Matts with which they were covered, set the Wigwams on Fire Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up, and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as Men most dreadfully Amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful Terror did the Almighty let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very Flames, where many of them perished. And when the Fort was thoroughly Fired, Command was given, that all should fall off and surround the Fort, which was readily attended by all, only one Arthur Smith being so wounded that he could not move out of the Place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued.

The Fire was kindled on the North East Side to windward, which did swiftly over-run the Fort, to the extream Amazement of the Enemy, and great Rejoycing of our selves. Some of them climbing to the Top of the Pallizado; others of them running into the very Flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their Arrows, and we repayed them with our small Shot: Others of the Stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the Number of Forty, who perished by the Sword. . . .

About a Fortnight after our Return home, which was about one Month after the Fight at Mistick, there Arrived in Pequot River several Vessels from the Massachusetts, Captain Israel Stoughton being Commander in Chief; and with him about One hundred and twenty Men; being sent by that Colony to pursue the War against the Pequots: The Enemy being all fled before they came, except some few Straglers, who were surprised by the Moheags and others of the Indians, and by them delivered to the Massachusetts Soldiers.

Connecticut Colony being informed hereof, sent forthwith *forty* Men, Captain Mason being Chief Commander; with some other Gent, to meet those of the Massachusetts, to consider what was necessary to be attended respecting the *future*. . . .

We then hastened our march towards the Place where the Enemy was: And coming into a Corn Field, *several* of the English espyed some Indians, who fled from them: They pursued them, and coming to the Top of an Hill, saw several Wigwams just opposite, only a Swamp intervening, which was almost divided in two Parts. Sergeant Palmer hastening with about twelve Men who were under his Command to surround the smaller Part of the Swamp, that so He might prevent the Indians flying, Ensign Danport, Sergeant Jeffnes &c, entering the Swamp, intended to have gone to the Wigwams, were there set upon by several Indians, who in all probability were deterred by Sergeant Palmer. In this Skirmish the English slew but few; two or three of themselves were Wounded: The rest of the English coming up, the Swamp was surrounded.

Our Council being called, and the Question propounded, How we should proceed, Captain Patrick advised that we should cut down the Swamp, there being many Indian Hatchets taken, Captain Traske concurring with him; but was opposed by others. Then we must pallizado the Swamp; which was also opposed: Then they would have a Hedge made like those of Gotham; all which was judged by some almost impossible, and to no purpose, and that for several Reasons, and therefore strongly opposed. But some others advised to force the Swamp, having time enough, it being about three of the Clock in the Afternoon. But that being opposed, it was then propounded to draw up our Men close to the Swamp, which would much have lessened the Circumference; and with all to fill up the open Passages with Bushes, that so we might secure them until the Morning, and then we might consider further about it. But neither of these would pass; so different were our Apprehensions; which was very grievous to some of us, who concluded the Indians would make an Escape in the Night, as easily they might and did: We keeping at a great distance, what better could be expected? Yet Captain Mason *took Order that the* Narrow in the Swamp should be cut through; which did

much shorten our Leaguer. It was resolutely performed by Sergeant Davis.

We being loth to destroy Women and Children, as also the Indians belonging to that Place; whereupon Mr. Tho. Stanton a Man well acquainted with Indian Language and Manners, offered his Service to go into the Swamp and treat with them. To which we were somewhat backward, by reason of some Hazard and Danger he might be exposed unto: But his importunity prevailed Who going to them, did in a short time return to us, with near Two Hundred old Men, Women and Children, who delivered themselves, to the Mercy of the English. And so Night drawing on, we beleaguered them as strongly as we could. About half an Hour before Day, the Indians that were in the Swamp attempted to break through Captain Patrick's Quarters, but were beaten back several times; they making a great Noise, as their Manner is at such Times, it sounded round about our Leaguer· Whereupon Captain Mason sent Sergeant Stares to inquire into the Cause, and also to assist if need required, Capt. Traske coming also in to their Assistance: But the Tumult growing to a very great Heighth, we raised our Siege; and Marching up to the Place, at a Turning of the Swamp the Indians were forcing out upon us; but we sent them back by our small Shot.

We waiting a little for a second Attempt; the Indians in the mean time facing about, pressed violently upon Captain Patrick, breaking through his Quarters, and so escaped. There were about sixty or seventy as we were informed. We afterwards searched the Swamp, and found but few Slain The Captives we took were about One Hundred and Eighty; whom we divided, intending to keep them as Servants, but they could not endure that Yoke; few of them continuing any considerable time with their masters.

Thus did the Lord scatter his Enemies with his strong Arm!

Thirteen •

1692—THE DEVIL IN MASSACHUSETTS

The New England colonists were godly people, but their strict faith admitted a large element of superstition. Many of them believed in the existence of witches: women who, with the aid of the devil or other evil spirits, could do harm by supernatural means. Suddenly, in 1692, strange events began to take place in Salem Village, now Danvers, Massachusetts. Young women fell down in fits and claimed to feel pains like those caused by invisible pins. The work of witches, the clergymen cried. Between May and September several hundred persons were accused of witchcraft, many were convicted, nineteen were hanged. Eventually the people came to their senses, and most of them regretted having lost their heads.

When the hysteria was at its height, Mary Lacey, under examination, confessed that she had practiced witchcraft. So did many other women, only to take back their confessions when they believed themselves to be out of danger.

Mary Lacey was brought in, and Mary Warren in a violent fit.

Question (to Mary Lacey): "How dare you to come in here, and bring the Devil with you, to afflict these poor creatures?"

Answer: "I know nothing of it."

Lacey laying her hand on Warren's arm, she recovered from her fit.

Q "You are here accused for practising witchcraft upon Goody Ballard; which way do you do it?"

Thomas Hutchinson, *The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692* (Boston, 1870), 26–29.

A. "I cannot tell. Where is my mother that made me a witch, and I knew it not?"

Q. "Can you look upon that maid, Mary Warren, and not hurt her? Look upon her in a friendly way."

She trying so to do, struck her down with her eyes.

Q "Do you acknowledge now you are a witch?"

A "Yes."

Q. "How long have you been a witch?"

A. "Not above a week"

Q. "Did the Devil appear to you?"

A. "Yes."

Q "In what shape?"

A "In the shape of a horse."

Q. "What did he say to you?"

A. "He bid me not to be afraid of any thing, and he would not bring me out, but he has proved a liar from the beginning"

Q "When was this?"

A. "I know not, above a week"

Q "Did you set your hand to the book?"

A "No"

Q. "Did he bid you worship him?"

A. "Yes, he bid me also to afflict persons."

Q "You are now in the way to obtain mercy if you will confess and repent. Do not you desire to be saved by Christ?"

A "Yes"

The judges "Then you must confess freely what you know in this matter."

Mary Lacey: "I was in bed, and the Devil came to me and bid me obey him and I should want for nothing, and he would not bring me out."

Q "But how long ago?"

A. "A little more than a year"

Q "Was that the first time?"

A "Yes"

Q "How long was you gone from your father, when you run away?"

A "Two days"

Q "Where had you your food?"

A. "At John Stone's."

Q. "Did the Devil appear to you then, when you was abroad?"

A. "No, but he put such thoughts in my mind as not to obey my parents."

Q. "Who did the Devil bid you afflict?"

A. "Timothy Swan. Richard Carner comes often a-nights and has me to afflict persons."

Q. "Where do ye go?"

A. "To Goody Ballard's sometimes."

Q "How many of you were there at a time?"

A. "Richard Carner and his mother, and my mother and grandmother."

Upon reading over the confession so far, Goody Lacey, the mother, owned this last particular.

Q. "How many more witches are there in Andover?"

A. "I know no more, but Richard Carner."

Q. "Tell all the truth."

A. "I cannot yet."

Q. "Did you use at any time to ride upon a stick or pole?"

A. "Yes."

Q. "How high?"

A. "Sometimes above the trees."

Q. "Your mother struck down these afflicted persons, and she confessed so far, till at last she could shake hands with them freely and do them no hurt. Be you also free and tell the truth. What sort of worship did you do the devil?"

A. "He bid me pray to him and serve him and said he was a god and lord to me."

Q. "What meetings have you been at, at the village?"

A. "I was once there and Richard Carner rode with me on a pole, and the Devil carried us."

Q "Did not some speak to you to afflict the people there?"

A. "Yes, the Devil."

Q "Was there not a man also among you there?"

A. "None but the Devil."

Q "What shape was the Devil in then?"

A. "He was a black man, and had a high crowned hat."

Q "Your mother and your grandmother say there was a minister there. How many men did you see there?"

A. "I saw none but Richard Carrier."

Q "Did you see none else?"

A "There was a minister there, and I think he is now in prison."

Q. "Were there not two ministers there?"

A "I cannot tell."

Q. "Was there not one Mr. Burroughs there?"

A. "Yes."

We whose names are underwritten, inhabitants of Andover; when at that horrible and tremendous judgment beginning at Salem village in the year 1692, by some called witchcraft, first breaking forth at Mr Paris's house, several young persons, being seemingly afflicted, did accuse several persons for afflicting them, and many there believing it so to be, we being informed that, if a person was sick, the afflicted persons could tell what or who was the cause of that sickness Joseph Ballard, of Andover, his wife being sick at the same time, he either from himself or from the advice of others, fetched two of the persons, called the afflicted persons, from Salem village to Andover, which was the beginning of that dreadful calamity that befel us in Andover, believing the said accusations to be true, sent for the said persons to come together to the meeting house in Andover, the afflicted persons being there. After Mr Barnard had been at prayer, we were blindfolded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted persons, *they being in their fits* and falling into their fits at our coming into their presence, as they said; and some led us and laid our hands upon them, and then they said they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting of them, whereupon we were *all* seized, as prisoners, by a warrant from the justice of the peace, and forthwith carried to Salem. And by reason of that sudden surprisal, we knowing ourselves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly and amazed, and consternated and affrighted even of our reason, and our nearest and dearest

seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending that there was no other way to save our lives, as the case was then circumstanced, but by our confessing ourselves to be such and such persons as the afflicted represented us to be, they, out of tender love and pity, persuaded us to confess what we did confess. And indeed that confession, that it is said we made, was no other than what was suggested to us by some gentlemen, they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it, which made us think that it was so; and our understanding, our reason, our faculties almost gone, we were not capable of judging our condition; as also the hard measures they used with us rendered us incapable of making our defence, but said any thing and every thing which they desired, and most of what we said was but in effect a consenting to what they said. Some time after, when we were better composed, they telling us of what we had confessed, we did profess that we were innocent and ignorant of such things; and we hearing that Samuel Wardwell had renounced his confession, and quickly after condemned and executed, some of us were told that we were going after Wardwell.

Mary Osgood
Mary Tiler
Deliverance Dane
Abigail Barker
Sarah Wilson
Hannah Tiler.

Fourteen •

1673—MARQUETTE AND JOLIET EXPLORE THE MISSISSIPPI

While the English colonies on the Atlantic coast grew strong, the French pushed westward steadily. First went the explorers, then the missionaries. In 1668 the Jesuits established a mission at Sault Ste. Marie on the St. Mary's River, which connects Lake Superior with Lake Huron. Two years later they founded St. Ignace on Mackinac Island, in 1671 they established themselves at Green Bay, where the Fox River of Wisconsin empties into Lake Michigan.

One of the priests who served both at Sault Ste. Marie and St. Ignace was Jacques Marquette, who had come to Canada from France in 1666. In the missions the Indians told him of a great river to the west. While at St Ignace in the winter of 1672–73 he learned that he was to join a young explorer and map-maker of Quebec, Louis Joliet, in finding and exploring the river of which the Indians spoke.

Priest and explorer left St. Ignace in mid-May, 1673. They traveled in two canoes, with five voyageurs, or boatmen. Their route took them to Green Bay, then to the headwaters of the Fox River where they portaged to the Wisconsin, flowing westward. On June 17 they found themselves on the Mississippi.

In a "Relation" to his superiors Marquette told the story of the first week on the river, marveled at the fish and the buffalo, and described the visit the little party of Frenchmen made to a village of Illinois Indians on the west bank of the stream.

John Gilmary Shea, Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley (Albany, 1903), 18, 21-25.

Here then we are on this renowned river, of which I have endeavored to remark attentively all the peculiarities. The Mississippi river has its source in several lakes in the country of the nations to the north; it is narrow at the mouth of the Miskousing; its current, which runs south, is slow and gentle; on the right is a considerable chain of very high mountains, and on the left fine lands; it is in many places studded with islands. On sounding, we have found ten fathoms of water. Its breadth is very unequal: it is sometimes three quarters of a league, and sometimes narrows in to three arpents (220 yards). We gently follow its course, which bears south and southeast till the forty-second degree. Here we perceive that the whole face is changed; there is now almost no wood or mountain, the islands are more beautiful and covered with finer trees; we see nothing but deer and moose, bustards and wingless swans, for they shed their plumes in this country. From time to time we meet monstrous fish, one of which struck so violently against our canoe, that I took it for a large tree about to knock us to pieces. . . .

We advanced constantly, but as we did not know where we were going, having already made more than a hundred leagues without having discovered anything but beasts and birds, we kept well on our guard. Accordingly we make only a little fire on the shore at night to prepare our meal, and after supper keep as far off from it as possible, passing the night in our canoes, which we anchor in the river pretty far from the bank. Even this did not prevent one of us being always as a sentinel for fear of a surprise. . . .

At last, on the 25th of June, we perceived footprints of men by the water-side, and a beaten path entering a beautiful prairie. We stopped to examine it, and concluding that it was a path leading to some Indian village, we resolved to go and reconnoitre; we accordingly left our two canoes in charge of our people, cautioning them strictly to beware of a surprise; then M. Jollyet and I undertook this rather hazardous discovery for two single men, who thus put themselves at the discretion

of an unknown and barbarous people. We followed the little path in silence, and having advanced about two leagues, we discovered a village on the banks of the river, and two others on a hill, half a league from the former. Then, indeed, we recommended ourselves to God, with all our hearts; and having implored his help, we passed on undiscovered, and came so near that we even heard the Indians talking. We then deemed it time to announce ourselves, as we did by a cry, which we raised with all our strength, and then halted without advancing any further. At this cry the Indians rushed out of their cabins, and having probably recognised us as French, especially seeing a black gown, or at least having no reason to distrust us, seeing we were but two, and had made known our coming, they deputed four old men to come and speak with us. Two carried tobacco-pipes well-adorned, and trimmed with many kinds of feathers. They marched slowly, lifting their pipes toward the sun, as if offering them to him to smoke, but yet without uttering a single word. They were a long time coming the little way from the village to us. Having reached us at last, they stopped to consider us attentively. I now took courage, seeing these ceremonies, which are used by them only with friends, and still more on seeing them covered with stuffs, which made me judge them to be allies. I, therefore, spoke to them first, and asked them, who they were; they answered that they were Ilinois and, in token of peace, they presented their pipes to smoke. They then invited us to their village where all the tribe awaited us with impatience. These pipes for smoking are called in the country calumets, a word that is so much in use, that I shall be obliged to employ it in order to be understood, as I shall have to speak of it frequently.

At the door of the cabin in which we were to be received, was an old man awaiting us in a very remarkable posture; which is their usual ceremony in receiving strangers. This man was standing, naked, with his hands stretched out and raised

the sun, as if he wished to screen himself from its rays, which nevertheless passed through his fingers to his face When we came near him, he paid us this compliment: "How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! All our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace" He then took us into his, where there was a crowd of people, who devoured us with their eyes, but kept a profound silence. We heard, however, these words occasionally addressed to us: "Well done, brothers, to visit us!"

As soon as we had taken our places, they showed us the usual civility of the country, which is to present the calumet You must not refuse it, unless you would pass for an enemy, or at least for being impolite. It is, however, enough to pretend to smoke. While all the old men smoked after us to honor us, some came to invite us on behalf of the great sachem of all the Ilinois to proceed to his town, where he wished to hold a council with us. We went with a good retinue, for all the people who had never seen a Frenchman among them could not tire looking at us. they threw themselves on the grass by the wayside, they ran ahead, then turned and walked back to see us again. All this was done without noise, and with marks of a great respect entertained for us.

Having arrived at the great sachem's town, we espied him at his cabin-door, between two old men, all three standing naked, with their calumet turned to the sun. He harangued us in few words, to congratulate us on our arrival, and then presented us his calumet and made us smoke, at the same time we entered his cabin, where we received all their usual greetings. Seeing all assembled and in silence, I spoke to them by four presents which I made: by the first, I said that we marched in peace to visit the nations on the river to the sea: by the second, I declared to them that God their Creator had pity on them, since, after their having been so long ignorant of him, he wished to become known to all nations; that I was sent on his behalf with this design, that it was for them to acknowledge and obey him: by the third, that the great chief of the French

informed them that he spread peace everywhere, and had overcome the Iroquois Lastly, by the fourth, we begged them to give us all the information they had of the sea, and of the nations through which we should have to pass to reach it.

When I had finished my speech, the sachem rose, and laying his hand on the head of a little slave, whom he was about to give us, spoke thus: "I thank thee, Blackgown, and thee, Frenchman," addressing M. Jollyet, "for taking so much pains to come and visit us, never has the earth been so beautiful, nor the sun so bright, as to-day, never has our river been so calm, nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed as they passed, never has our tobacco had so fine a flavor, nor our corn appeared so beautiful as we behold it to-day. Here is my son, that I give thee, that thou mayst know my heart. I pray thee to take pity on me and all my nation Thou knowest the Great Spirit who has made us all, thou speakest to him and hearest his word: ask him to give me life and health, and come and dwell with us, that we may know him." Saying this, he placed the little slave near us and made us a second present, an all-mysterious calumet, which they value more than a slave, by this present he showed us his esteem for our governor, after the account we had given of him; by the third, he begged us, on behalf of his whole nation, not to proceed further, on account of the great dangers to which we exposed ourselves.

I replied, that I did not fear death, and that I esteemed no happiness greater than that of losing my life for the glory of Him who made all. But this these people could not understand.

The council was followed by a great feast which consisted of four courses, which we had to take with all their ways, the first course was a great wooden dish full of sagamity, that is to say, of Indian meal boiled in water and seasoned with grease. The master of ceremonies, with a spoonful of sagamity, presented it three or four times to my mouth, as we would do with a li child, he did the same to M. Jollyet. For the

course, he brought in a second dish containing three fish; he took some pains to remove the bones, and having blown upon it to cool it, put it in my mouth, as we would food to a bird; for the third course, they produced a large dog, which they had just killed, but learning that we did not eat it, it was withdrawn. Finally, the fourth course was a piece of wild ox, the fattest portions of which were put into our mouths.

After this feast we had to visit the whole village, which consists of full three hundred cabins. While we marched through the streets, an orator was constantly haranguing, to oblige all to see us without being troublesome; we were everywhere presented with belts, garters, and other articles made of the hair of the bear and wild cattle, dyed red, yellow, and gray. These are their rareties; but not being of consequence, we did not burthen ourselves with them.

We slept in the sachem's cabin, and the next day took leave of him, promising to pass back through his town in four moons. He escorted us to our canoes with nearly six hundred persons, who saw us embark, evincing in every possible way the pleasure our visit had given them.

Fifteen •

1673—MARQUETTE AND JOLIET VISIT THE SITE OF CHICAGO

Marquette and Joliet descended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas (Akamsea), then turned back. On their return they shortened their route

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Shea, Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, 49-55.

by ascending the Illinois River and the Des Plaines, portaging their canoes to the Chicago River and thence to Lake Michigan, the "lake of the Illinois." Thus they became the first white men to visit the site of the future city of Chicago.

We embarked next morning with our interpreter, preceded by ten Indians in a canoe Having arrived about half a league from Akamsea (Arkansas), we saw two canoes coming toward us The commander was standing up holding in his hand the calumet, with which he made signs according to the custom of the country, he approached us, singing quite agreeably, and invited us to smoke, after which he presented us some sagamity and bread made of Indian corn, of which we ate a little He now took the lead, making us signs to follow slowly Meanwhile they had prepared us a place under the war-chief's scaffold, it was neat and carpeted with fine rush mats, on which they made us sit down, having around us immediately the sachems, then the braves, and last of all, the people in crowds. We fortunately found among them a young man who understood Illinois much better than the interpreter whom we had brought from Mitchigamea By means of him I first spoke to the assembly by the ordinary presents, they admired what I told them of God, and the mysteries of our holy faith, and showed a great desire to keep me with them to instruct them

We then asked them what they knew of the sea, they replied that we were only ten days' journey from it (we could have made this distance in five days); that they did not know the nations who inhabited it, because their enemies prevented their commerce with those Europeans, that the hatchets, knives, and beads, which we saw, were sold them, partly by the nations to the east, and partly by an Illinois town four days' journey to the west, that the Indians with fire-arms whom we had met, were their enemies who cut off their passage to the sea, and prevented their making the acquaintance of the Europeans, or having any commerce

them; that, besides, we should expose ourselves greatly by passing on, in consequence of the continual war-parties that their enemies sent out on the river; since being armed and used to war, we could not, without evident danger, advance on that river which they constantly occupy.

During this converse, they kept continually bringing us in wooden dishes of sagamity, Indian corn whole, or pieces of dog-flesh; the whole day was spent in feasting.

These Indians are very courteous and liberal of what they have, but they are very poorly off for food, not daring to go and hunt the wild-cattle, for fear of their enemies. It is true, they have Indian corn in abundance, which they sow at all seasons, we saw some ripe, more just sprouting, and more just in the ear, so that they sow three crops a year. They cook it in large earthen pots, which are very well made, they have also plates of baked earth, which they employ for various purposes. The men go naked, and wear their hair short; they have the nose and ears pierced, and beads hanging from them. The women are dressed in wretched skins; they braid their hair in two plaits, which fall behind their ears, they have no ornaments to decorate their persons. Their banquets are without any ceremonies; they serve their meats in large dishes, and every one eats as much as he pleases, and they give the rest to one another. Their language is extremely difficult and with all my efforts, I could not succeed in pronouncing some words. Their cabins, which are long and wide, are made of bark; they sleep at the two extremities, which are raised about two feet from the ground. They keep their corn in large baskets, made of cane, or in gourds, as large as half barrels. They do not know what a beaver is; their riches consisting in the hides of wild cattle. They never see snow, and know the winter only by the rain which falls oftener than in summer. We eat no fruit there but watermelons; if they knew how to cultivate their ground, they might have plenty of all kinds.

In the evening the sachems held a secret council on

the design of some to kill us for plunder, but the chief broke up all these schemes, and sending for us, danced the calumet in our presence, in the manner I have described above, as a mark of perfect assurance, and then, to remove all fears, presented it to me.

M. Jollyet and I held another council to deliberate on what we should do, whether we should push on, or rest satisfied with the discovery that we had made. After having attentively considered that we were not far from the gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is 31° 40′ north, and we at 33° 40′, so that we could not be more than two or three days journey off, that the Mississipi undoubtedly had its mouth in Florida or the gulf of Mexico, and not on the east, in Virginia, whose seacoast is at 34° north, which we had passed, without having as yet reached the sea, nor on the western side in California, because that would require a west, or west-southwest course, and we had always been going south. We considered, moreover, that we risked losing the fruit of this voyage, of which we could give no information, if we should throw ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards, who would undoubtedly, at least, hold us as prisoners. Besides, it was clear, that we were not in a condition to resist Indians allied to Europeans, numerous and expert in the use of fire-arms, who continually infested the lower part of the river Lastly, we had gathered all the information that could be desired from the expedition. All these reasons induced us to resolve to return; this we announced to the Indians, and after a day's rest, prepared for it.

. . . We left the village of Akamsea on the 17th of July, to retrace our steps. We accordingly ascended the Mississippi, which gave us great trouble to stem its currents We left it indeed, about the 38th degree, to enter another river, which greatly shortened our way, and brought us, with little trouble, to the lake of the Ilinois.[17]

[17] The original name of Lake Michigan. The river · Illinois.

We had seen nothing like this river for the fertility of the land, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wild-cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver; its many little lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed, is broad, deep, and gentle for sixty-five leagues. During the spring and part of the summer, the only portage is half a league.

We found there an Ilinois town called Kaskaskia,[18] composed of seventy-four cabins, they received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe with his young men, escorted us to the Ilinois lake, whence at last *we returned in the close of September to the bay of* the Fetid, whence we had set out in the beginning of June.

Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul, I should deem all my fatigue well repaid, and this I have reason to think, for, when I was returning, I passed by the Indians of Peoria. I was three days announcing the faith in all their cabins, after which as we were embarking they brought me on the water's edge a dying child, which I baptized a little before it expired, by an admirable Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul.

[18] Kaskaskia, or the Great Village of the Illinois, was located about midway between the present cities of La Salle and Ottawa.

Sixteen •

1682—LA SALLE CLAIMS THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FOR FRANCE

Other Frenchmen soon followed up the discoveries of Marquette and Joliet One of the greatest was Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, who was determined to establish a great trading empire in the Mississippi Valley. In 1680 he built Fort Crevecoeur near the site of the present city of Peoria, Illinois, only to have the post attacked by the Indians and destroyed within three months. Two years later La Salle, with Henry de Tonty, descended the Mississippi to its mouth. There, on April 9, 1682, he formally took possession of the great valley in the name of the King of France.

The description of the ceremony is from the official record kept by Jaques de la Metaine, who accompanied the expedition as its notary.

We continued our voyage till the 6th, when we discovered three channels by which the River Colbert discharges itself into the sea We landed on the bank of the most western channel, about three leagues from its mouth. On the 7th, M de la Salle went to reconnoitre the shores of the neighboring sea, and M. de Tonty likewise examined the great middle channel. They found these two outlets beautiful, large and deep On the 8th, we reascended the river, a little above its confluence with the sea, to find a dry place, beyond the reach of inundations. The elevation of the North Pole was here about 27 degrees. Here we prepared a column and a cross, and to the said column were affixed the arms of France, with this inscription:

Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, One (Springfield, 1903), 110–13.

Louis Le Grand, Roi de France et de Navarre, Regne, Le Neuvieme, Avril, 1682

The whole party, under arms, chanted the Te Deum, the Exaudiat, the Domine salvum fac Regem, and then, after a salute of firearms and cries of Vive le Roi, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said, with a loud voice, in French: "In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbours, ports, bays, adjacent straits; and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers, comprised in the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore, or Chikachas, and this with the consent of the Chaouanons, Chikachas, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert, or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Ilinois, Mesigameas, Natches, Koroas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance, either by ourselves or by others in our behalf, as far as its mouth at the sea, or Gulf of Mexico, about the 27th degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of River of Palms; upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said River Colbert; hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or

all of these countries, people, or lands, above described, to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named Of which, and of all that can be needed, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the Notary, as required by law."

To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of Vive le Roi, and with salutes of firearms Moreover, the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree, to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France, and the following Latin inscription:

LVDOVICVS MAGNVS REGAT. NONO APRILIS CIO IOC LXXXII. ROBERTVS CAVELIER, CVM DOMINO DE TONTY, LEGATO, R. P. ZENOBIO MEMBRE, RECOLLECTO, ET VIGINTI GALLIS, PRIMVS HOC FLVMEN, INDE AB ILLINEORVM PAGO, ENAVIGAVIT, EJVSQVE OSTIVM FECIT PERVIVM, NONO APRILIS ANNI CIO IOC LXXXII.

After which the Sieur de la Salle said, that his Majesty, as eldest son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown, without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted; which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the *Vexilla* and the *Domine salvum fac Regem* were sung. Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of Vive le Roi.

Of all and every of the above, the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same, signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand *six hundred and eighty-two.*

La Metairie,
Notary.

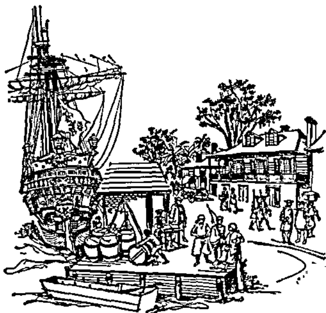
De la Salle.
P. Zenobe, Recollet Missionary.
Henry de Tonty.
Francois de Boisrondet.

Jean Bourdon.
Sieur d'Autry.
Jaques Cauchois.
Pierre You.
Gilles Meucret.
Jean Michel, Surgeon.
Jean Mas.
Jean Dulignon.
Nicolas de la Salle.

CHAPTER TWO

LIFE IN COLONIAL AMERICA

1730 – 1778



One •

1730—NEW ORLEANS, OUTPOST OF FRANCE

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the little European outposts in North America had become firmly established colonies with customs and characteristics different from each other and from the mother countries. One of the most distinctive was Louisiana, which France held under the claim first asserted by La Salle. New Orleans, founded by Bienville in 1718 as a trading post, was the metropolis of the colony. We see it through the eyes of a pioneer planter, Le Page du Pratz, who watched it grow from a single cabin to a thriving town.

New Orleans, the Capital of the Colony, is situated to the East, on the banks of the *Missisippi*, in 30° of North Latitude. At my first arrival in Louisiana, it existed only in name; for on my landing I understood, M de *Bienville*, Commandant General, was only gone to mark out the spot, whence he returned three days after our arrival at *Isle Dauphine*.

He pitched upon this spot in preference to many others, more agreeable and commodious, but for that time this was a place proper enough: Besides, it is not every man who can see so far as some others As the principal settlement was then at *Mobile*, it was proper to have the Capital fixed at a place from which there

Le Page du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana* (London, 1763) I, 89–93.

could be an easy communication with this Post: And thus a better choice could not have been made, as the town being on the banks of the *Missisipi*, vessels, tho' of a thousand ton, may lay their sides close to the shore, even at low water; or at most, need only lay a small bridge, with two of their yards, in order to load or unload, to roll barrels and bales, &c. without fatiguing the ship's crew. This town is only a league from *St. John's Creek*, where passengers take water for Mobile, in going to which they pass *Lake St. Louis*, and from thence all along the coast; a communication which was necessary at that time. . . .

The place of arms is in the middle of that part of the town which faces the river; in the middle of the ground of the place of arms stands the parish-church, called *St. Louis*, where the *Capuchins* officiate, whose house is to the left of the Church. To the right stand the prison, or jail, and the guard-house. Both sides of the place of arms are taken up with two bodies or rows of barracks. The place stands all open to the river.

All the streets are laid out both in length and breadth by the line, and intersect and cross each other at right angles. The streets divide the town into sixty-six *Isles*, eleven along the river lengthwise, or in front, and six in depth: Each of those *Isles* is fifty square toises, and each again divided into twelve *Emplacements*, or compartments, for lodging as many families. The *Intendant's* house stands behind the barracks on the left; and the magazine, or warehouse-general behind the barracks on the right, on viewing the town from the side. The *Governor's* house stands in the middle of that part of the town, from which we go from the place of arms to the habitation of the *Jesuits*, which is near the town. The house of the *Ursulin* Nuns is quite at the end of the town, to the right; as is also the hospital of the sick, of which the Nuns have the inspection. What I have just described faces the river.

On the banks of the river runs a causey, or mole, as well on the side of the town as on the opposite side, from the English Reach quite to the town, and about ten leagues beyond it; which makes about fifteen or sixteen leagues on each side the river; and which may

be travelled in a coach or on horse-back, on a bottom as smooth as a table.

The greatest part of the houses is of brick: the rest are of timber and brick.

Two ·

1766—DETROIT, OUTPOST OF ENGLAND

Hundreds of miles to the north of New Orleans stood another village established by the French. Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit, built in 1701, became the nucleus of a settlement known simply as Detroit Jonathan Carver, a Connecticut explorer, described the town as he saw it in 1766, six years after the English had captured it in the French and Indian War. No prophet could have seen in the neat little village, with its small British garrison, the seed of the great industrial city of today.

The river that runs from Lake St. Claire to Lake Erie (or rather the Straight, for thus might be termed from its name) is called Detroit, which is in French, the Straight. It runs nearly south, has a gentle current, and depth of water sufficient for ships of considerable burthen. The town of Detroit is situated on the western banks, about nine miles below Lake St. Claire.

Almost opposite, on the eastern shore, is the village of the ancient Hurons: a tribe of Indians which has been treated of by so many writers, that . . . I shall omit giving a description of them. A missionary of the order of Carthusian Friars, by permission of the bishop of Canada, resides among them.

J Carver, *Travels Through The Interior* F America (London, 1778), 150–52.

The banks of the River Detroit, both above and below *these towns, are covered with settlements that extend* more than twenty miles; the country being *exceedingly fruitful,* and proper for the cultivation of wheat, Indian corn, oats, and peas It has also many *spots* of fine pasturage; but as the inhabitants, who are chiefly French that submitted to the English government after the conquest of these parts by General Amherst, are more attentive to the Indian trade than to *farming, it is but badly cultivated.*

The town of Detroit contains upwards of one hundred houses. The streets are somewhat regular, and have a range of very convenient and handsome barracks, with a spacious parade at the south end. On the west side lies the king's garden belonging to the governor, which is very well laid out and kept in good order. The fortifications *of the town consist of a strong stockade* made of round piles, fixed firmly in the ground, and lined with *palisades These are defended by some small bastions,* on which are mounted a few indifferent cannon of an *inconsiderable size,* just sufficient for its defence against the Indians, or an enemy not provided with artillery.

The garrison, in time of peace, consists of two hundred men commanded by a field officer, who acts as chief magistrate under the governor of Canada.

Three ·

1766-68—THE ORIGINAL AMERICANS

From New Orleans to Detroit and beyond eastward to the Alleghenies, and westward to the Pacific, the Indians occupied the continent with little dis-

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Carver, Travels Through The Interior Parts of North-America, 223-26, 229-33, 243-45.

turbance from the white man. Carver describes customs and characteristics of the tribes he encountered in traveling through the region that would soon become the northern section of the United States.

The Indian nations . . . are in general slight made, rather tall and strait, and you seldom see any among them deformed, their skin is of a reddish or copper colour, their eyes are large and black, and their hair is of the same hue, but very rarely is it curled; they have good teeth, and their breath is as sweet as the air they draw in, their cheek-bones rather raised, but more so in the women than the men, the former are not quite so tall as the European women, however you frequently meet with good faces and agreeable persons among them, although they are more inclined to be fat than the other sex . . .

The men of every nation differ in their dress very little from each other, except those who trade with the Europeans; these exchange their furs for blankets, shirts, and other apparel, which they wear as much for ornament as necessity. The latter fasten by a girdle around their waists about half a yard of broadcloth, which covers the middle parts of their bodies Those who wear shirts never make them fast either at the wrist or collar, this would be a most insufferable confinement to them They throw their blanket loose upon their shoulders, and holding the upper side of it by the two corners, with a knife in one hand, and a tobacco-pouch, pipe, &c. in the other, thus accoutred they walk about in their villages or camps, but in their dances they seldom wear this covering. . . .

They paint their faces red and black, which they esteem as greatly ornamental They also paint themselves when they go to war; but the method they make use of on this occasion differs from that wherein they use it merely as a decoration. . . .

The women wear a covering of some kind or other from the neck to the knees. Those who trade with the Europeans wear a linen garment the same as that used by the men; the flaps of which hang over the petticoat. Such as dress after ancient manner, make a kind of

with leather, which covers the body but not the arms. Their petticoats are made either of leather or cloth, and reach from the waist to the knee . . .

The Indians, in general, pay a greater attention to their dress and to the ornaments with which they decorate their persons, than to the accommodations of their huts or tents. They construct the latter in the following simple, and expeditious manner.

Being provided with poles of a proper length, they fasten two of them across, near their ends, with bands made of bark. Having done this, they raise them up, and extend the bottom of each as wide as they purpose to make the area of the tent: they then erect others of an equal height, and fix them so as to support the two principal ones On the whole they lay skins of the elk or deer, sewed together, in quantity sufficient to cover the poles, and by lapping over to form the door. A great number of skins are sometimes required for this purpose, as some of their tents are very capacious That of the chief-warrior of the Naudowessies was at least forty feet in circumference, and very commodious. . . .

The huts also, which those who use not tents, erect when they travel, for very few tribes have fixed abodes or regular towns or villages, are equally simple and almost as soon constructed.

They fix small pliable poles in the ground, and bending them till they meet at the top and form a semicircle, then lash them together. These they cover with mats made of rushes platted, or with birch bark, which they carry with them in their canoes for this purpose.

These cabins have neither chimnies nor windows, there is only a small aperture left in the middle of the roof, through which the smoke is discharged, but as this is obliged to be stopped up when it rains or snows violently, the smoke then proves exceedingly troublesome.

They lie on skins, generally those of the bear, which are placed in rows on the ground; and if the floor is not large enough to contain beds sufficient for the accommodation of the whole family, a frame is erected about four or five feet from the ground, in which the younger part of it sleep. . . .

Every nation pays a great respect to old age The advice of a father will seldom meet with any extraordinary attention from the young Indians, probably they receive it with only a bare assent; but they will tremble before a grandfather, and submit to his injunctions with the utmost alacrity. The words of the ancient part of their community are esteemed by the young as oracles. If they take during their hunting parties any game that is reckoned by them uncommonly delicious, it is immediately presented to the oldest of their relations.

They never suffer themselves to be overburdened with care, but live in a state of perfect tranquillity and contentment. Being naturally indolent, if provision just sufficient for their subsistence can be procured with little trouble, and near at hand, they will not go far, or take any extraordinary pains for it, though by so doing they might acquire greater plenty, and of a more estimable kind.

Having much leisure time they indulge this indolence to which they are so prone, by eating, drinking, or sleeping, and rambling about in their towns or camps But when necessity obliges them to take the field, either to oppose an enemy, or to procure themselves food, they are alert and indefatigable. . . .

The infatuating spirit of gaming is not confined to Europe, the Indians also feel the bewitching impulse, and often lose their arms, their apparel, and every thing they are possessed of. In this case, however, they do not follow the example of more refined gamesters, for they neither murmur nor repine; not a fretful word escapes them, but they bear the frowns of fortune with a philosophic composure.

The greatest blemish in their character is that savage disposition which impels them to treat their enemies with a severity every other nation shudders at. But if they are thus barbarous to those with whom they are at war, they are friendly, hospitable, and humane in peace It may with truth be said of them, that they are the worst enemies, and the best friends, of any people in the whole world.

Four •

1759—VIRGINIA AFTER A CENTURY AND A HALF

By the middle of the eighteenth century the English colonies were firmly established along the Atlantic seaboard from Georgia to New Hampshire. Long before the American Revolution most of them had achieved a settled way of life. Towns, often of considerable size, had grown up and were beginning to exhibit, in colleges, libraries, and music halls, the graces of civilization.

The English colonies attracted many travelers from abroad. One of these, with a flair for description, was Andrew Burnaby, a young man recently graduated from Cambridge. Burnaby spent two years in Virginia, the middle settlements, and New England, and then went home to write a book about his experiences. In his pages we see what the passage of a hundred and fifty years had meant to England's first outpost in North America.

Williamsburg is the capital of Virginia: it is situated between two creeks; one falling into James, the other into York river; and is built nearly due east and west. The distance of each landing-place is something more than a mile from the town, which, with the disadvantage of not being able to bring up large vessels, is the reason of its not having increased so fast as might have been expected. It consists of about two hundred houses, does not contain more than one thousand souls, whites and negroes; and is far from being a place of any consequence. It is regularly laid out in parallel streets, intersected by others at right angles, has a handsome square in the center, through which runs the principal

Andrew Burnaby, Travels Through The Middle Settlements in North America (London, 1775), 6-7, 19-22, 31-32.

street, one of the most spacious in North-America, three quarters of a mile in length, and above a hundred feet wide. At the ends of this street are two public buildings, the college and the capitol: and although the houses are of wood, covered with shingles, and but indifferently built, the whole makes a handsome appearance. There are few public edifices that deserve to be taken notice of, those, which I have mentioned, are the principal, and they are far from being magnificent The governor's palace, indeed, is tolerably good, one of the best upon the continent, but the church, the prison, and the other buildings, are all of them extremely indifferent. The streets are not paved, and are consequently very dusty, the soil hereabout consisting chiefly of sand however, the situation of Williamsburg has one advantage, which few or no places in these lower parts have; that of being free from mosquitoes. Upon the whole, it is an agreeable residence, there are ten or twelve gentlemen's families constantly residing in it, besides merchants and tradesmen. and at the time of the assemblies, and general courts, it is crowded with the gentry of the country: on those occasions there are balls and other amusements; but as soon as the business is finished, they return to their plantations, and the town is in a manner deserted.

Viewed and considered as a settlement, Virginia is far from being arrived at that degree of perfection which it is capable of. Not a tenth of the land is yet cultivated: and that which is cultivated, is far from being so in the most advantageous manner. It produces, however, considerable quantities of grain and cattle, and fruit of many kinds. The Virginian pork is said to be superior in flavour to any in the world, but the sheep and horned cattle being small and lean, the meat of them is inferior to that of Great Britain, or indeed, of most parts of Europe. The horses are fleet and beautiful; and the gentlemen of Virginia, who are exceedingly fond of horse-racing, have spared no expense or trouble to improve the breed of them by importing great numbers from England. . . .

The inhabitants are supposed to be in number between two and three hundred thousand. There are

hundred and five thousand tytheables, under which denomination are included all white males from fifteen to sixty; and all negroes whatsoever within the same age. The former are obliged to serve in the militia, and amount to forty thousand.

The trade of this colony is large and extensive. Tobacco is the principal article of it. Of this they export annually between fifty and sixty thousand hogsheads, each hoghead weighing eight hundred or a thousand weight: some years they export much more. They ship also for the Madeiras, the Streights, and the West-Indies, several articles, such as grain, pork, lumber, and cyder: to Great Britain, bar-iron, indigo, and a small quantity of ginseng, tho' of an inferior quality, and they clear out one year with another about——tons of shipping

Their manufactures are very inconsiderable. They make a kind of cotton-cloth, which they clothe themselves with in common, and call after the name of their country; and some inconsiderable quantities of linen, hose, and other trifling articles: but nothing to deserve attention . . .

From what has been said of this colony, it will not be difficult to form an idea of the character of its inhabitants. The climate and external appearance of the country conspire to make them indolent, easy, and good-natured, extremely fond of society, and much given to convivial pleasures. In consequence of this, they seldom show any spirit of enterprize, or expose themselves willingly to fatigue. Their authority over their slaves renders them vain and imperious, and intire strangers to that elegance of sentiment, which is so peculiarly characteristic of refined and polished nations. Their ignorance of mankind and of learning, exposes them to many errors and prejudices, especially in regard to Indians and Negroes, whom they scarcely consider as of the human species; so that it is almost impossible, in cases of violence, or even murder, committed on those unhappy people by any of the planters, to have the delinquents brought to justice. . .

The public or
corresponds with

and jealous of their liberties, impatient of restraint, and can scarcely bear the thought of being controuled by any superior power. Many of them consider the colonies as independent states, not connected with Great Britain, otherwise than by having the same common king, and being bound to her with natural affection. There are but few of them that have a turn for business, and even those are by no means adroit at it. . . . In matters of commerce they are ignorant of the necessary principles that must prevail between a colony and the mother country, they think it a hardship not to have an unlimited trade to every part of the world They consider the duties upon their staple as injurious only to themselves; and it is utterly impossible to persuade them that they affect the consumer also Upon the whole, however, to do them justice, the same spirit of generosity prevails here which does in their private character, they never refuse any necessary supplies for the support of government when called upon, and are generous and loyal people.

Five •

1774—AMUSEMENTS OF THE CAVALIERS

The large plantation, owned by a man of wealth and worked by Negro slaves, was a feature of life in Virginia and the other Southern colonies. The plantation owner could afford gay and luxurious amusements. Through the diary of Philip Vickers Fithian, a young man from New Jersey who had attended Princeton College and was now (1774) employed as a tutor at Nomini Hall, the estate of Robert Carter, we look in

John Rogers Williams, Ed, *Philip Vickers Fithian J and Letters, 1767–1774* (Princeton, N J., 1900), 94–97

on one of the lively evenings beloved by the Virginia gentry.

[January 18, 1774]

Mrs. Carter, & the young Ladies came Home last Night from the Ball, & brought with them Mrs. *Lane*, they tell us there were upwards of Seventy at the Ball; forty-one Ladies; that the company was genteel; & that Colonel *Harry Lee*, from *Dumfries*, & his Son *Harry* who was with me at College, were also there; Mrs. Carter made this an argument, and it was a strong one indeed, that to-day I must dress & go with her to the Ball. She added also that She desired my Company in the Evening when we should come Home as it would be late. After considering a while I consented to go, & was dressed. We set away from Mr. Carters at two; Mrs. *Carter* & the young Ladies in the Chariot, Mrs. Lane in a Chair, & myself on Horseback. As soon as I had handed the Ladies out, I was saluted by Parson *Smith*; I was introduced into a small Room where a number of Gentlemen were playing Cards (the first game I have seen since I left Home) to lay off my Boots Riding-Coat &c. Next I was directed into the Dining-Room to see young Mr *Lee*; He introduced me to his Father. With them I conversed til Dinner, which came in at half after four. The Ladies dined first, when some Good Order was preserved, when they rose, each nimblest Fellow dined first. The Dinner was as elegant as could well be expected when so great an Assembly were to be kept for so long a time. For Drink, there were several sorts of Wine, good Lemon Punch, Toddy, Cyder, Porter &c. About Seven the Ladies and Gentlemen begun to dance in the Ball-Room—first Minuets one Round, Second Giggs; third Reels; And last of All Country-Dances; tho' they struck several Marches occasionally. The Music was a French-Horn and two Violins. The Ladies were Dressed Gay, and splendid, & when dancing, their Skirts & Brocades rustled and trailed behind them! But all did not join in the Dance for there were parties in Rooms made up, some at Cards; some drinking for Pleasure; some toasting the Sons of america; some sing-

ing "Liberty Songs" as they call'd them, in which six, eight, ten or more would put their Heads near together and roar, & for the most part as unharmonious as an affronted———. Among the first of the Vociferators was a young Scotch-Man, Mr. *Jack Cunningham*; he was nimis bibendo appotus, noisy, droll, waggish, yet civil in his way & wholly inoffensive. I was solicited to dance by several, Captain Chelton, Colonel Lee, Harry Lee, and others; But George Lee, with great Rudeness as tho' half drunk, asked me why I would come to the Ball & neither dance nor play Cards? I answered him shortly (for his Impudence moved my resentment) that my Invitation to the Ball would Justify my Presence, & that he was ill qualified to direct my Behaviour who made so indifferent a Figure himself Parson Smiths, & Parson Gibberns Wives danced, but I saw neither of the Clergymen dance or game. At Eleven Mrs Carter call'd upon me to go, I listened with gladness to the summons & with Mrs. Lane in the Chariot we rode Home, the Evening sharp and cold! I handed the Ladies out, waited on them to a warm Fire, then ran over to my own Room, which was warm and had a good Fire, oh how welcome! Better this than to be at the Ball in some corner nodding, and awakened now & then with a midnight Yell! In my Room by half after twelve, & exceeding happy that I could break away with Reputation.

Six •

1778—SLAVERY

Plantation life and Negro slavery were inseparable. As early as 1619 a Dutch vessel landed captured Negroes in Virginia and sold them to the colonists.

Thomas Anburey, *Travels Through The Interior America* (Boston, 1923), II, 191-94.

Later, slaves were bought and sold in all the English colonies, north as well as south. Their number, however, did not increase rapidly until the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the Southern planters began to produce tobacco, rice, cotton, and sugar—crops which required many hands—on large plantations.

An English soldier gives us one of the best concise descriptions of slavery as it existed at the end of the colonial period. Among the officers in the army of General John Burgoyne, who surrendered to the Americans in the fall of 1777, was Thomas Anburey, Lieutenant in the Twenty-Ninth Regiment of Foot Anburey, with the other prisoners of war, was marched to Boston and thence to Charlottesville, Virginia, where he was held until the end of the war. He kept a shrewd and entertaining record of his observations, which he published after his return to England Like all foreigners, and many Americans, Anburey was affronted by the spectacle of men holding other men in bondage.

The whole management of the plantation is left to the overseer, who as an encouragement to make the most of the crops, has a certain portion as his wages, but not having any interest in the negroes, any further than their labour, he drives and whips them about, and works them beyond their strength, and sometimes till they expire; he feels no loss in their death, he knows the plantation must be supplied, and his humanity is estimated by his interest, which rises always above freezing point

It is the poor negroes who alone work hard, and I am sorry to say, fare hard. Incredible is the fatigue which the poor wretches undergo, and that nature should be able to support it, there certainly must be something in their constitutions, as well as their color, different from us, that enables them to endure it.

They are called up at day break, and seldom allowed to swallow a mouthful of hommony, or hoe cake, but are drawn out into the field immediately, where they continue at hard labour, without intermission, till noon, when they go to their dinners, and are seldom allowed

an hour for that purpose; their meals consist of hominy and salt [pork], and if their master is a man of humanity, touched by the finer feelings of love and sensibility, he allows them twice a week a little fat, skimmed milk, rusty bacon, or salt herring, to relish this miserable and scanty fare The man at this plantation, in lieu of these, grants his negroes an acre of ground, and all Saturday afternoon to raise grain and poultry for themselves After they have dined, they return to labour in the field, until dusk in the evening, here one naturally imagines the daily labour of these poor creatures was over, not so, they repair to the tobacco houses, where each has a task of stripping allotted which takes them up some hours, or else they have such a quantity of Indian corn to husk, and if they neglect it, are tied up in the morning, and receive a number of lashes from those unfeeling monsters, the overseers, whose masters suffer them to exercise their brutal authority without constraint Thus by their night task, it is late in the evening before these poor creatures return to their second scanty meal, and the time taken up at it encroaches upon their hours of sleep, which for refreshment of food and sleep together can never be reckoned to exceed eight

When they lay themselves down to rest, their comforts are equally miserable and limited, for they sleep on a bench, or on the ground, with an old scanty blanket, which serves them at once for bed and covering, their cloathing is not less wretched, consisting of a shirt and trowsers of coarse, thin, hard hempen stuff, in the Summer, with an addition of a very coarse woollen jacket, breeches and shoes in Winter. But since the war, their masters, for they cannot get the cloathing as usual, suffer them to go in rags, and many in a state of nudity.

The female slaves share labour and repose just in the same manner, except a few who are term'd house negroes, and are employed in household drudgery.

These poor creatures are all submission to injuries and insults, and are obliged to be passive, nor dare [illegible] resist or defend themselves if attacked, w[illegible] smallest provocation, by a white person.

directs the negroe's arm to be cut off who raises it against a white person, should it be only in defence against wanton barbarity and outrage.

Notwithstanding this humiliating state and rigid treatment to which this wretched race are subject, they are devoid of care, and appear jovial, contented and happy. It is a fortunate circumstance that they possess, and are blessed with such an easy satisfied disposition, otherwise they must inevitably sink under such a complication of misery and wretchedness.

Seven •

1760—THE THRIVING REALM OF THE PURITANS

The second English colony, founded in 1620, had grown equally with Virginia. But its people and institutions were different.

Boston, the metropolis of Massachusets-Bay, in New England, is one of the largest and most flourishing towns in North America. It is situated upon a peninsula, or rather an island joined to the continent by an isthmus or narrow neck of land half a mile in length, at the bottom of a spacious and noble harbour, defended from the sea by a number of small islands The length of it is nearly two miles, and the breadth of it half a one; and it is supposed to contain 3000 houses, and 18 or 20,000 inhabitants. At the entrance of the harbour stands a very good light-house; and upon an island, about a league from the town, a considerable castle, mounting near 150 cannon: there are several good batteries about it, and one in particular very strong, built by Mr. Shirley. There are also two batteries in the town, for 16 or 20 guns each; but they are not, I believe, of

Andrew Burnaby, *Travels*, 133–37, 141–45.

any force. The buildings in Boston are in general good; the streets are open and spacious, and well-paved, and the whole has much the air of some of our best county towns in England.—The country round about it is exceedingly delightful, and from a hill, which stands close to the town, where there is a beacon erected to alarm the neighbourhood in case of any surprize, is one of the finest prospects, the most beautifully variegated, and richly grouped, of any without exception that I have ever seen.

The chief public buildings are, three churches; thirteen or fourteen meeting-houses, the governor's palace; the courthouse, or exchange; Faneuils-hall; a linen-manufacturing-house, a work-house, a bridewell; a public granary, and a very fine wharf, at least half a mile long, undertaken at the expence of a number of private gentlemen, for the advantage of unloading and loading vessels. Most of these buildings are handsome: the church, called King's Chapel, is exceedingly elegant, and fitted up in the Corinthian taste. There is also an elegant private concert-room, highly finished in the Ionic manner.—I had reason to think the situation of Boston unhealthy, at least in this season of the year; as there were frequent funerals every night during my stay there.

The number of souls in this province is supposed to amount to 200,000, and 40,000 of them to be capable of bearing arms. They carry on a considerable traffick, chiefly in the manner of the Rhode-Islanders; but have some material articles for exportation, which the Rhode-Islanders have not, except in a very trifling degree: these are salt fish, and vessels. Of the latter they build annually a great number, and send them, laden with cargoes of the former, to Great Britain, where they sell them. They clear out from Boston, Salem, Marblehead, and the different ports in this province, yearly, about ———tons of shipping. Exclusive of these articles, their manufactures are not large; those of spirits, fish oil, and iron, are, I believe, the most considerable. They fabricate beaver-hats, which they sell for a moidore[1] a

[1] An old English coin worth twenty-seven shillings.

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piece; and some years ago they erected a manufactory, with a design to encourage the Irish settlers to make linens, but at the breaking out of the war the price of labour was inhanced so much, that is was impossible to carry it on. Like the rest of the colonies they also endeavour to make woollens, but they have not yet been able to bring them to any degree of perfection; indeed it is an article in which I think they will not easily succeed, for the American wool is not only coarse, but, in comparison of the English, exceedingly short. . . .

Arts and Sciences seem to have made a greater progress here, than in any other part of America. Harvard college has been founded above a hundred years, and although it is not upon a perfect plan, yet it has produced a very good effect. The arts are undeniably forwarder in Massachusetts-Bay, than either in Pensylvania or New York. The public buildings are more elegant; and there is a more general turn for music, painting, and the belles lettres

The character of the inhabitants of this province is much improved, in comparison of what it was: but puritanism and a spirit of persecution is not yet totally extinguished The gentry of both sexes are hospitable, and good-natured, there is an air of civility in their behaviour, but it is constrained by formality and preciseness. Even the women, though easiness of carriage is peculiarly characteristic of their nature, appear here with more stiffness and reserve than in the other colonies. They are formed with symmetry, are handsome, and have fair and delicate complexions; but are said universally, and even proverbially, to have very indifferent teeth. . . .

Singular situations and manners will be productive of singular customs; but frequently such as upon slight examination may appear to be the effects of mere grossness of character, will, upon deeper research, be found to proceed from simplicity and innocence. A very extraordinary method of courtship, which is sometimes practised amongst the lower people of this province, and is called Tarrying, has given occasion to this reflection. When a man is enamoured of a young woman, and wishes to marry her, he proposes the affair

to her parents, (without whose consent no marriage in this colony can take place); if they have no objection, they allow him to tarry with her one night, in order to make his court to her. At their usual time the old couple retire to bed, leaving the young ones to settle matters as they can; who, after having sate up as long as they think proper, get into bed together also, but without pulling off their under-garments, in order to prevent scandal. If the parties agree, it is all very well, the banns are published, and they are married without delay. If not, they part, and possibly never see each other again; unless, which is an accident that seldom happens, the forsaken fair-one prove pregnant, and then the man is obliged to marry her, under pain of excommunication.

Eight ·

1760—WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

What of the future of the English colonies, now restless under the rule of a mother country which could not quite bring itself to believe that the offspring had grown up?

Andrew Burnaby's forecast shows how easy it is for common sense to be wrong What he wrote of the handicaps and jealousies of the Americans was all true. What he predicted on the basis of his knowledge was all wrong.

Having travelled over so large a tract of this vast continent, before I bid a final farewell to it, I must beg the reader's indulgence, while I stop for a moment, and as it were from the top of a high eminence, take one general retrospective look at the whole—An idea, strange as it is visionary, has entered into the minds of

Andrew Burnaby, Travels, 154–62.

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the generality of mankind, that empire is travelling westward; and every one is looking forward with eager and impatient expectation to that destined moment, when America is to give law to the rest of the world. But if ever an idea was illusory and fallacious, I will venture to predict, that this will be so.

America is formed for happiness, but not for empire: in a course of 1200 miles I did not see a single object that sollicited charity; but I saw insuperable causes of weakness, which will necessarily prevent its being a potent state.

Our colonies may be distinguished into the southern and northern, separated from each other by the Susquehannah and that imaginary line which divides Maryland from Pensylvania.

The southern colonies have so many inherent causes of weakness, that they can never possess any real strength.—The climate operates very powerfully upon them, and renders them indolent, inactive, and unenterprizing; this is visible in every line of their character. I myself have been a spectator, and it is not an uncommon sight, of a man in the vigour of life, lying upon a couch, and a female slave standing over him, wafting off the flies, and fanning him, while he took his repose.

The southern colonies (Maryland, which is the smallest and most inconsiderable, alone excepted) will never be thickly seated: for as they are not confined within determinate limits, but extend to the westward in*definitely, men, sooner than apply to laborious occupa*tions, occupations militating with their dispositions, and generally considered too as the inheritance and badge of slavery, will gradually retire westward, and settle upon fresh lands, which are said also to be more fertile; where, by the servitude of a Negroe or two, they may enjoy all the satisfaction of an easy and indolent independency: hence the lands upon the coast will of course remain thin of inhabitants.

The mode of cultivation by slavery, is another insurmountable cause of weakness. The number of Negroes in the southern colonies is upon the whole nearly equal,

if not superior, to that of the white men; and they propagate and increase even faster.—Their condition is truly pitiable, their labour excessively hard, their diet poor and scanty, their treatment cruel and oppressive: they cannot therefore but be a subject of terror to those who so inhumanly tyrannize over them.

The Indians near the frontiers are a still farther formidable cause of subjection The southern Indians are numerous, and are governed by a sounder policy than formerly. experience has taught them wisdom. They never make war with the colonists without carrying terror and devastation along with them They sometimes break up intire counties together—Such is the state of the southern colonies—

The northern colonies are of stronger stamina, but they have other difficulties and disadvantages to struggle with, not less arduous, or more easy to be surmounted, than what have been already mentioned Their limits being defined, they will undoubtedly become exceedingly populous for though men will readily retire back towards the frontiers of their own colony, yet they will not so easily be induced to settle beyond them, where different laws and policies prevail, and where, in short, they are a different people but in proportion to want of territory, if we consider the proposition in a general and abstract light, will be want of power—But the northern colonies have still more positive and real disadvantages to contend with They are composed of people of different nations, different manners, different religions, and different languages They have a mutual jealousy of each other, fomented by considerations of interest, power and ascendency. Religious zeal too, like a smothered fire, is secretly burning in the hearts of the different sectaries that inhabit them, and were it not restrained by laws and superior authority, would soon burst out into a flame of universal persecution. Even the peaceable Quakers struggle hard for preeminence, and evince in a very striking manner, that the of mankind are much stronger than any principles religion

The colonies, therefore, separately

internally weak; but it may be supposed, that, by a union or coalition, they would become strong and formidable: but an union seems almost impossible: one founded in dominion or power is morally so. for, were not England to interfere, the colonies themselves so well understand the policy of preserving a balance, that, I think, they would not be idle spectators, were any one of them to endeavour to subjugate its next neighbour. Indeed, it appears to me a very doubtful point, even supposing all the colonies of America to be united under one head, whether it would be possible to keep in due order and government so wide and extended an empire; the difficulties of communication, of intercourse, of correspondence, and all other circumstances considered.

A voluntary association or coalition, at least a permanent one, is almost as difficult to be supposed: for fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North-America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation, which they possess in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Pensylvania and New York have an inexhaustible source of animosity, in their jealousy for the trade of the Jerseys. Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island, are not less interested in that of Connecticut. The West Indies are a common subject of emulation to them all. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony, are a constant source of litigation. In short, such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of interest, of the different colonies, that I think, if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind, were they left to themselves, there would soon be a civil war, from one end of the continent to the other; while the Indians and Negroes would, with better reason, impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them all together.

After all, however, supposing what I firmly believe will never take place, a permanent union or alliance of all the colonies, yet it could not be effectual, or productive of the event supposed, for such is the extent of coast settled by the American colonies, that it can never be defended but by a maritime power: America must

first be mistress of the sea, before she can be independent, or mistress of herself. Suppose the colonies ever so populous; suppose them capable of maintaining 100,000 men constantly in arms (a supposition in the highest degree extravagant), yet half a dozen frigates would, with ease, ravage and lay waste the whole country from end to end, without a possibility of their being able to prevent it, the country is so intersected by rivers, rivers of such magnitude as to render it impossible to build bridges over them, that all communication is in a manner cut off. An army under such circumstances could never act to any purpose or effect; its operations would be totally frustrated.

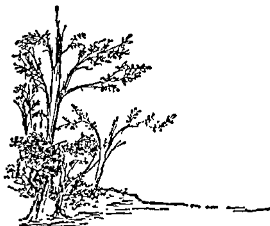
Further, a great part of the opulence and power of America depends upon her fisheries, and her commerce with the West Indies; she cannot subsist without them, but these would be intirely at the mercy of that power, which might have the sovereignty of the seas. I conclude therefore, that England, so long as she maintains her superiority in that respect, will also possess a superiority in America, but the moment she loses the empire of the one, she will be deprived of the sovereignty of the other: for were that empire to be held by France, Holland, or any other power, America, I will venture to foretell, will be annexed to it.—New establishments formed in the interior parts of America, will not come under this predicament. I should therefore think it the best policy to enlarge the present colonies, but not to establish fresh ones; for to suppose interior colonies to be of use to the mother country, by being a check upon those already settled, is to suppose what is contrary to experience, and the nature of things, viz., that men removed from the reach of power will be subordinate to it.



CHAPTER THREE

FRANCE LOSES AN EMPIRE

1745 – 1763



One •

1745—ROGER WOLCOTT DESCRIBES THE CAPTURE OF LOUISBOURG

In the middle years of the eighteenth century the longstanding rivalry between England and France burst into worldwide war. Human nature being what it is, conflict between the two nations was inevitable. As world powers, no other countries approached them. Each, through alliances, sought to dominate Europe, or at least to prevent the other from dominating it. Each had a thriving world trade with many ships on the sea lanes, and each had colonial outposts in North America, the West Indies, India, and other faraway regions.

In 1740 both England and France became involved, on opposite sides, in a war over the succession to the Austrian throne. The conflict spread to America, where it was known as King George's War At Louisbourg (now known as Cape Breton Island, immediately north of Nova Scotia) the French held a post that was supposed to be able to resist any attack. New Englanders, suspecting that the strength of Louisbourg was overrated, decided to assault it. What followed is described by Roger Wolcott, who headed the Connecticut volunteers and served as second in command under Sir

"Journal of Roger Wolcott at the Siege of Louisbourg in 1745," Collections of the Connecticut Historical Soc , Volume One (Hartford, 1860), 149-53.

William Pepperrell. Wolcott attributed the surprising success of the New Englanders to the fact that "our soldiers were freeholders and freeholders' sons, while the men within the walls were mercenary troops."

Massachusetts and New Hampshire sent 3,250 land forces into the service, with what ships of force they had and needful transports. Connecticut sent 500 land forces in transports, with Capt. Prentis in the Defense Sloop with 100 men for the sea service. Rhode Island sent Capt. Fones in the Tartar with 90 men. Gov. Clinton sent ten eighteen pounders from New York.

These forces all met at Canso April 25th 1745, and left 100 men with eight cannon to fortify that place; 400 men, under the command of Col Moulton, were ordered to reduce St Peters; and on the 29th day the fleet set sail from Canso for Cape Breton, and on the 30th, about one of the clock P M they arrived in Chapeaurouge Bay, near Flat Point. We are now ready for landing 3250 men for the land service furnished with sixteen eighteen-pounders, two nine-pounders, three mortars, 1 thirteen, 1 eleven, and 1 nine inch diameter, and a suitable number of shot and shell, with about 500 barrells of powder.

Altho' commonly the surf runs so high that there is no landing, yet now it was favourable to a wonder, and as soon as the whale boats were let down our men flew to shore like eagles to the quarry; the enemy soon advanced to meet the first that landed, at whose appearance our men made no stop but prest on upon the enemy, and at our first discharge the enemy fled, some of them were killed, some wounded and some taken prisoners; in the encounter we lost none but had two or three slightly wounded; the landing continued with utmost dispatch, and the men as soon as on shore prest forward thro' the forest to the town, being about three miles; in their passing they gave and received several shot from the enemy . . . none were lost on our side.

Our resolute landing and beating the enemy back to the town, struck such a terror on them that they abandoned the grand battery with the cannon, great

shot and shells that were there; they burnt several of their houses without the town, and retired within their walls This night our men lay in the forest without any regular encampment.

The next morning Sergt. Leeds with some Indians entered the royal battery, and about sixteen of our men drove back about eighty of the enemy who were returning from the town to the royal battery, and upon Brigadier Waldo's desire, his regiment was put into it.

We now spent several days in landing our tents and stores, fixing our camp, setting up our store-houses and hospitals, sending out advanced parties to meet any of the enemy that might be patrolling about and reduce the adjacent settlements. Workmen were employed to drill the cannon at the grand battery, which the enemy had plugged up, others were employed to view the ground where we might erect our batteries to the best advantage. As soon as the cannon were freed, they began a very brisk fire upon the town to the great annoyance of the enemy.

Our advanced parties met parties of the enemy which they constantly beat, and from the adjacent settlements brought in many prisoners, and things being settled respecting our camp and store-houses, &c., it was agreed to erect a battery at the green hill, being about 1760 yards west of the town To this place from the landing, being about a mile and quarter, we drew our mortars, cannon, and carried our powder, ball and shells, over stony hills and deep morasses, all done in the night because the way was exposed to the shot from the walls From hence we played upon the town without any great success, unless by the shells from our great mortar, which fell within the walls, and here we constantly received the great shot and shells from the town. Upon further consideration it was resolved to remove the cannon from the green hill to the cohorn battery, standing about 880 yards westward of the town, which was accomplished accordingly, and from thence we played with better success upon the town, but unhappily split our great mortar by a shell bursting with it. We also erected the advanced battery about 2,

yards distance from the north-west gate, and the two-gun battery, being about 880 yards north of the town; these two batteries were furnisht with cannon from the royal battery. The advanced battery beat down the west gate and the walls near it, and dismounted several cannon on the walls, the shot passing through the houses in the town, the two-gun battery dismounted the cannon on the circular battery and raked the town from end to end, driving the inhabitants out [of] their houses into their casemates, where many of them sickened and died.

Notwithstanding, it was feared the town could not be taken unless the ships came in and a general storm was given by land and sea, and some of the ship captains thought the king's ships ought not [to] be so exposed to the enemy until the island battery was reduced, therefore the reduction of that battery became the matter of our greatest attention. It was resolved to attempt it in the night, by landing men in whale boats; four times this was attempted but failed without landing a man, but on the night after the 26th of May, about 400 volunteers undertook it and chose Capt. Brooks for their leader, a number of them landed, but 'tis uncertain how many—as soon as they were perceived by the garrison the battery was in a blaze from their cannon, swivells and small arms, their langrell cutting boats and men to pieces as they were landing, yet those who landed maintained a desperate fight for two hours and a half to the amazement of the enemy—at length some few of them got back into their boats and returned, 189 were left behind. 120 of which were found prisoners when the town was taken, and 69 perished in the attempt.

Col Gorham's regiment had for some time been stationed on the light-house side in order to erect a battery there to annoy the island battery, and upon this defeat that battery was hastened, the perfecting of it was attended with much difficulty and delay, but by the 14th of June with the large mortar that came from Annapolis and five eighteen-pounders he played successfully on the island battery, breaking down some of

the embrazures and driving the French out of the battery into the sea. Our fire from the grand battery and other batteries had greatly distrest the enemy in the town and island battery, and time was very precious with us; we had now been encamped 47 days in an enemy's country, far from any English settlements that might give us relief, the French and Indians in the adjacent parts were numerous, we were in danger of a surprize from them, especially those that were gone off from Annapolis, who we heard were advancing towards us, our stores were far spent, and the weather (though favorable to a wonder hitherto) was much to be feared, the climate being usually covered with palpable fogs and much rain, in which case no business could be done, and we must suffer very much in our camp and trenches

But now, in this difficult and critical hour, the Sunderland, Canterbury, and Lark, having joined the fleet, the captains of the ships agreed to the commodore to bring in the ships before the town and storm it by land and sea, and on the 15th of June the honble. commodore came on shore and informed us of his resolution to come in with his ships, and that from his broadsides he could discharge 364 guns on the town at once; it was then agreed in council to storm the town by land and sea the first fair wind to bring the ships into the harbour, but this was happily prevented by a flag of truce coming out the same day towards night, proposing to enter into a capitulation for surrendering the town, the capitulation was finisht the next day, the town &c, surrendered to his Britannic majesty, and on the 17th we took possession of the town and island battery and advanced the union flag upon the walls By this the effusion of much Christian blood was prevented, as also much damage that would likely have been done to the ships and town, now all belonging to the King of Great Britain.

Two •

1755—THE FRENCH AND INDIANS SMASH BRADDOCK'S REGULARS

To the disgust of the colonists, England returned Louisbourg to France when peace was made in 1748. But her loss of the fortress, even though temporary, served as a warning. France would strengthen her hold on North America, for next time the British might not be so lenient. Forts were either built or reinforced along the whole vast line of her settlements and influence: the valley of the St. Lawrence, the region of the Great Lakes, the entire length of the Mississippi.

The English colonists watched this activity with fear and dismay. A truly strong ring of French fortifications would set limits to expansion from the seaboard. Settlers were already spreading out beyond the Alleghenies; they wanted no Frenchmen stopping them. Besides, the French had Indian allies whom they would not always restrain from attacking the outlying settlements. Men who had ventured beyond the mountains knew well the meaning of the war whoop when heard from a cabin in a lonely clearing.

A peace made uneasy by such fears and tensions could not last. It neared its end in 1753, when the Marquis Duquesne, governor of New France, began the erection of a chain of forts in the upper Ohio valley, closer than ever before to the Atlantic colonies. The governor of Virginia sent George Washington, then only twenty-one years old, to demand that the intruders withdraw. Meanwhile, local militia built a small fort at the forks of the Ohio (where Pittsburgh now stands)

Winthrop Sargent, "Captain Orme's Journal," in *The History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne in 1755* (Philadelphia, 1856), 353-57.

which the French promptly captured, strengthened, and renamed Fort Duquesne.

The English government decided that the time for action had come. The War Office sent General Braddock, with two regiments of regulars, to Virginia with orders to drive the French from the Ohio valley. As the expedition, consisting of colonial troops as well as the regulars, neared its goal, the officers became overconfident and careless. On July 9 the advance guard marched into an ambush of French and Indians. An officer of the Coldstream Guards describes the battle that followed.

ORDERS AT THE CAMP NEAR THE MONONGAHELA.

All the men are to draw and clean their pieces, and the whole are to load to-morrow on the beating of the General with fresh cartridges

No tents or baggage are to be taken with Lieutenant Colonel Gage's party.

July 9th The whole marched agreeably to the Orders before mentioned, and about 8 in the morning the General made the first crossing of the Monongahela by passing over about one hundred and fifty men in the front, to whom followed half the carriages Another party of one hundred and fifty men headed the second division, the horses and cattle then passed, and after all the baggage was over, the remaining troops, which till then possessed the heights, marched over in good order.

The General ordered a halt, and the whole formed in their proper line of march

When we had moved about a mile, the General received a note from Lieutenant Colonel Gage acquainting him with his having passed the river without any interruption, and having posted himself agreeably to his orders.

When we got to the other crossing, the bank on the opposite side not being yet made passable, the artillery and baggage drew up along the beach, and halted 'to

one, when the General passed over the detachment of the 44th, with the pickets of the right. The artillery waggons and carrying horses followed; and then the detachment of the 48th, with the left pickets, which had been posted during the halt upon the heights.

When the whole had passed, the General again halted, till they formed according to the annexed plan.

It was now near two o'clock, and the advanced party under Lieutenant Colonel Gage and the working party under Sr John St Clair were ordered to march on 'till three. No sooner were the pickets upon their respective flanks, and the word given to march, but we heard an excessive quick and heavy firing in the front The General imagining the advanced parties were very warmly attacked, and being willing to free himself from the incumbrance of the baggage, order'd Lieutenant Colonel Burton to reinforce them with the vanguard, and the line to halt According to this disposition, eight hundred men were detached from the line, free from all embarrassments, and four hundred were left for the defence of the Artillery and baggage, posted in such a manner as to secure them from any attack or insults.

The General sent forward an Aid de Camp to bring him an account of the nature of attack, but the fire continuing, he moved forward himself, leaving Sr Peter Halket with the command of the baggage. The advanced detachments soon gave way and fell back upon Lieutenant Colonel Burton's detachment, who was forming his men to face a rising ground upon the right. The whole were now got together in great confusion. The colours were advanced in different places, to separate the men of the two regiments The General ordered the officers to endeavour to form the men, and to tell them off into small divisions and to advance with them; but neither entreaties nor threats could prevail.

The advanced flank parties, which were left for the security of the baggage, all but one ran in The baggage was then warmly attacked, a great many horses, and some drivers were killed; the rest escaped by flight. Two of the cannon flanked the baggage, and for some time kept the Indians off: the other cannon, which were

disposed of in the best manner and fired away most of their ammunition, were of some service, but the spot being so woody, they could do little or no execution

The enemy had spread themselves in such a manner, that they extended from front to rear, and fired upon every part.

The place of action was covered with large trees, and much underwood upon the left, without any opening but the road, which was about twelve foot wide. At the distance of about two hundred yards in front and upon the right were two rising grounds covered with trees.

When the General found it impossible to persuade them to advance, and no enemy appeared in view; and nevertheless a vast number of officers were killed, by exposing themselves before the men, he endeavoured to retreat them in good order; but the panick was so great that he could not succeed. During this time they were loading as fast as possible and firing in the air At last Lieutenant Colonel Burton got together about one hundred of the 48th regiment, and prevailed upon them, by the General's order, to follow him towards the rising ground on the right, but he being disabled by his wounds, they faced about to the right, and returned.

When the men had fired away all their ammunition and the General and most of the officers were wounded, they by one common consent left the field, running off with the greatest precipitation About fifty Indians pursued us to the river, and killed several men in the passage. The officers used all possible endeavours to stop the men, and to prevail upon them to rally, but a great number of them threw away their arms and ammunition, and even their cloaths, to escape the faster.

About a quarter of a mile on the other side the river, we prevailed upon near one hundred of them to take post upon a very advantageous spot, about two hundred yards from the road Lieutenant Colonel Burton posted some small parties and centinels We intended to have kept possession of that ground, 'till we could have been reinforced The General and some wounded officers remained there about an hour, 'till most of the men r off From that place, the General sent Mr. Washi

to Colonel Dunbar with orders to send waggons for the wounded, some provision, and hospital stores, to be escorted by two youngest Grenadier companies, to meet him at Gist's plantation, or nearer, if possible. It was found impracticable to remain here, as the General and officers were left almost alone; we therefore retreated in the best manner we were able. After we had passed the Monongahela the second time, we were joined by Lieutenant Colonel Gage, who had rallied near 80 men. We marched all that night, and the next day, and about ten o'clock that night we got to Gist's plantation.

July 11th Some waggons, provisions, and hospital stores arrived As soon as the wounded were dressed, and the men had refreshed themselves, we retreated to Colonel Dunbar's Camp, which was near Rock Fort. The General sent a serjeant's party back with provision to be left on the road on the other side of the Yoxhio Geni for the refreshment of any men who might have lost their way in the woods Upon our arrival at Colonel Dunbar's camp, we found it in the greatest confusion. Some of his men had gone off upon hearing of our defeat, and the rest seemed to have forgot all discipline. Several of our detachment had not stopped 'till they had reached this camp.

It was found necessary to clear some waggons for the wounded, many of whom were in a desperate situation; and as it was impossible to remove the stores, the Howitzer shells, some twelve pound shot, powder, and provision, were destroyed or buried

July 13th. We marched from hence to the Camp, near the great Meadows, where the General died.

Three •

1763—ALEXANDER HENRY ESCAPES AN INDIAN MASSACRE

Braddock's defeat, which marked the beginning of the French and Indian War (in Europe, the Seven Years' War), was a British disaster. Yet it was not a mortal one. In aggressive campaigns British and colonial troops took Louisbourg again, captured Quebec, and broke the French line of forts leading into the Ohio valley. On the sea and in India the British won equally decisive victories. France, thoroughly defeated, was forced to relinquish all her North American colonies to Britain.

In the American West the Indians smarted at the French defeat. They disliked the new British officials, resented the greediness of the traders, and feared the advance of white settlers. Loosely organized by Pontiac, a remarkable chief, the Indians attacked in the spring of 1763. At almost the same time they struck at British posts scattered over a thousand miles. At Michilimackinac, on the uppermost tip of lower Michigan, they achieved surprise under the cover of a game of lacrosse. Alexander Henry, a young trader at the post, was lucky enough to escape the massacre. Taken prisoner, he was treated not unkindly, and lived with the Indians for almost a year before resuming his trading activities.

The morning was sultry. A Chipewa came to tell me that his nation was going to play at baggatiway with the Sacs or Saäkies, another Indian nation, for a high wager. He invited me to witness the sport, adding that the commandant was to be there, and would bet on the

Milo M. Quaife, *Alexander Henry's Travels and . . .* (Chicago, R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1921), 78-94.

side of the Chipewa In consequence of this information I went to the commandant and expostulated with him a little, representing that the Indians might possibly have some sinister end in view; but the commandant only smiled at my suspicions.

Baggatiway, called by the Canadians *le jeu de la crosse*, is played with a bat and ball. The bat is about four feet in length, curved, and terminating in a sort of racket Two posts are planted in the ground at a considerable distance from each other, as a mile or more. Each party has its post, and the game consists in throwing the ball up to the post of the adversary The ball, at the beginning, is placed in the middle of the course and each party endeavors as well to throw the ball out of the direction of its own post as into the adversary's.

I did not go myself to see the match which was now to be played without the fort, because there being a canoe prepared to depart on the following day for Montreal I employed myself in writing letters to my friends, and even when a fellow trader, Mr Tracy, happened to call upon me, saying that another canoe had just arrived from Detroit, and proposing that I should go with him to the beach to inquire the news, it so happened that I still remained to finish my letters, promising to follow Mr. Tracy in the course of a few minutes Mr Tracy had not gone more than twenty paces from my door when I heard an Indian war cry and a noise of general confusion

Going instantly to my window I saw a crowd of Indians within the fort furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found In particular I witnessed the fate of Lieutenant Jemette.

I had in the room in which I was a fowling piece, loaded with swan-shot This I immediately seized and held it for a few minutes, waiting to hear the drum beat to arms In this dreadful interval I saw several of my countrymen fall, and more than one struggling between the knees of an Indian, who, holding him in this manner, scalped him while yet living

At length, disappointed in the hope of seeing re-

sistance made to the enemy, and sensible, of course, that no effort of my own unassisted arm could avail against four hundred Indians, I thought only of seeking shelter. Amid the slaughter which was raging I observed many of the Canadian inhabitants of the fort calmly looking on, neither opposing the Indians, nor suffering injury; and from this circumstance I conceived a hope of finding security in their houses

Between the yard door of my own house and that of M. Langlade, my next neighbor, there was only a low fence, over which I easily climbed. At my entrance I found the whole family at the windows, gazing at the scene of blood before them. I addressed myself immediately to M Langlade, begging that he would put me into some place of safety until the heat of the affair should be over; an act of charity by which he might perhaps preserve me from the general massacre; but while I uttered my petition M. Langlade, who had looked for a moment at me, turned again to the window, shrugging his shoulders and intimating that he could do nothing for me:—"Que voudriez-vous que j'en ferais?"

This was a moment for despair; but the next a Pani woman, a slave of M Langlade's, beckoned me to follow her. She brought me to a door which she opened, desiring me to enter, and telling me that it led to the garret, where I must go and conceal myself. I joyfully obeyed her directions, and she, having followed me up to the garret door, locked it after me and with great presence of mind took away the key.

This shelter obtained, if shelter I could hope to find it, I was naturally anxious to know what might still be passing without. Through an aperture which afforded me a view of the area of the fort I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. The dead were scalped and mangled; the dying were writhing and shrieking under the unsatiated knife and tomahawk, and from the bodies of some, ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood, scooped up in the hollow of joined h...

and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory. I was shaken not only with horror, but with fear. The sufferings which I witnessed I seemed on the point of experiencing No long time elapsed before every one being destroyed who could be found, there was a general cry of "All is finished!" At the same instant I heard some of the Indians enter the house in which I was.

The garret was separated from the room below only by a layer of single boards, at once the flooring of the one and the ceiling of the other. I could therefore hear everything that passed, and the Indians *no sooner came in than they inquired* whether or not any Englishman were in the house M. Langlade replied that he could *not say—he did not know of any*—answers in which he did not exceed the truth, for the Pani woman had not only hidden me by stealth, but kept my secret and her own M. Langlade was therefore, as I presume, as far from a wish to destroy me as he was careless about saving me, when he added to these answers that they might examine for themselves, and would soon be satisfied as to the object of their question. Saying this, he brought them to the garret door.

The state of my mind will be imagined Arrived at the door some delay was occasioned by the absence of the key and a few moments were thus allowed me *in* which to look around for a hiding place In one corner of the garret was a heap of those vessels of birch bark used in maple sugar making . . .

The door was unlocked, and opening, and the Indians ascending the stairs, before I had completely crept into a small opening, which presented itself at one end of the heap. An instant after four Indians entered the room, all armed with tomahawks, and all besmeared with blood upon every part of their bodies.

The die appeared to be cast. I could scarcely breathe; but I thought that the throbbing of my heart occasioned a noise loud enough to betray me. The Indians walked in every direction about the garret, and one of them approached me so closely that at a particular moment, had he put forth his hand, he must have touched me. Still I remained undiscovered, a circum-

stance to which the dark color of my clothes and the want of light in a room which had no window, and in the corner in which I was, must have contributed. In a word, after taking several turns in the room, during which they told M. Langlade how many they had killed and how many scalps they had taken, they returned down stairs, and I with sensations not to be expressed, heard the door, which was the barrier between me and my fate, locked for the second time.

There was a feather bed on the floor, and on this, exhausted as I was by the agitation of my mind, I threw myself down and fell asleep. In this state I remained till the dusk of the evening, when I was awakened by a second opening of the door The person that now entered was M Langlade's wife, who was much surprised at finding me, but advised me not to be uneasy, observing that the Indians had killed most of the English, but that she hoped I might myself escape. A shower of rain having begun to fall, she had come to stop a hole in the roof. On her going away, I begged her to send me a little water to drink, which she did

As night was now advancing I continued to lie on the bed, ruminating on my condition, but unable to discover a resource from which I could hope for life A flight to Detroit had no probable chance of success The distance from Michilimackinac was four hundred miles; I was without provisions; and the whole length of the road lay through Indian countries, countries of an enemy in arms, where the first man whom I should meet would kill me. To stay where I was threatened nearly the same issue. As before, fatigue of mind, and not tranquillity, suspended my cares and procured me further sleep. . . .

The respite which sleep afforded me during the night was put an end to by the return of morning. I was again on the rack of apprehension At sunrise I heard the family stirring, and presently after, Indian voices informing M Langlade they had not found my hapless self among the dead, and that they .. me to be somewhere concealed. M. Langlade from what followed to be by this time acquai

the place of my retreat, of which no doubt he had been informed by his wife The poor woman, as soon as the Indians mentioned me, declared to her husband in the French tongue that he should no longer keep me in his house, but deliver me up to my pursuers, giving as a reason for this measure that should the Indians discover his instrumentality in my concealment, they might revenge it on her children, and that it was better that I should die than they. M Langlade resisted at first this sentence of his wife's, but soon suffered her to prevail, informing the Indians that he had been told I was in his house, that I had come there without his knowledge, and that he would put me into their hands. This was no sooner expressed than he began to ascend the stairs, the Indians following upon his heels.

I now resigned myself to the fate with which I was menaced; and regarding every attempt at concealment as vain, I arose from the bed and presented myself full in view to the Indians who were entering the room. They were all in a state of intoxication, and entirely naked, except about the middle One of them, named Wenniway, whom I had previously known, and who was upward of six feet in height, had his entire face and body covered with charcoal and grease, only that a white spot of two inches in diameter encircled either eye. This man, walking up to me, seized me with one hand by the collar of the coat, while in the other he held a large carving knife, as if to plunge it into my breast, his eyes, meanwhile, were fixed steadfastly on mine. At length, after some seconds of the most anxious suspense, he dropped his arm, saying, "I won't kill you!" To this he added that he had been frequently engaged in wars against the English, and had brought away many scalps; that on a certain occasion he had lost a brother whose name was Musinigon, and that I should be called after him.

A reprieve upon any terms placed me among the living, and gave me back the sustaining voice of hope; but Wenniway ordered me downstairs, and there informing me that I was to be taken to his cabin, where, and indeed everywhere else, the Indians were all mad

with liquor, death again was threatened, and not as possible only, but as certain. I mentioned my fears on this subject to M. Langlade, begging him to represent the danger to my master. M Langlade in this instance did not withhold his compassion, and Wenniway immediately consented that I should remain where I was until he found another opportunity to take me away.

Thus far secure I reascended my garret stairs in order to place myself the furthest possible out of the reach of insult from drunken Indians; but I had not remained there more than an hour, when I was called to the room below in which was an Indian who said that I must go with him out of the fort, Wenniway having sent him to fetch me. This man, as well as Wenniway himself, I had seen before In the preceding year I had allowed him to take goods on credit, for which he was still in my debt; and some short time previous to the surprise of the fort he had said upon my upbraiding him with want of honesty that he would pay me before long. This speech now came fresh into my memory and led me to suspect that the fellow had formed a design against my life I communicated the suspicion to M. Langlade, but he gave for answer that I was not now my own master, and must do as I was ordered

The Indian on his part directed that before I left the house I should undress myself, declaring that my coat and shirt would become him better than they did me. His pleasure in this respect being complied with, no other alternative was left me than either to go out naked, or to put on the clothes of the Indian, which he freely gave me in exchange His motive for thus stripping me of my own apparel was no other as I afterward learned than this, that it might not be stained with blood when he should kill me.

I was now told to proceed; and my driver followed me close until I had passed the gate of the fort, when I turned toward the spot where I knew the Indians to be encamped This, however, did not suit the purpose of my enemy, who seized me by the arm and drew me violently in the opposite direction to the distance of fifty yards above the fort. Here, finding that I

approaching the bushes and sand hills, I determined to proceed no farther, but told the Indian that I believed he meant to murder me, and that if so he might as well strike where I was as at any greater distance. He replied with coolness that my suspicions were just, and that he meant to pay me in this manner for my goods. At the same time he produced a knife and held me in a position to receive the intended blow. Both this and that which followed were necessarily the affair of a moment. By some effort, to sudden and too little dependent on thought to be explained or remembered, I was enabled to arrest his arm and give him a sudden push by which I turned him from me and released myself from his grasp This was no sooner done than I ran toward the fort with all the swiftness in my power, the Indian following me, and I expecting every moment to feel his knife I succeeded in my flight; and on entering the fort I saw Wenniway standing in the midst of the area, and to him I hastened for protection. Wenniway desired the Indian to desist, but the latter pursued me round him, making several strokes at me with his knife, and foaming at the mouth with rage at the repeated failure of his purpose. At length Wenniway drew near to M Langlade's house; and, the door being open, I ran into it. The Indian followed me; but on my entering the house he voluntarily abandoned the pursuit

Preserved so often and so unexpectedly as it had now been my lot to be, I returned to my garret with a strong inclination to believe that through the will of an overruling power no Indian enemy could do me hurt, but new trials, as I believed, were at hand when at ten o'clock in the evening I was roused from sleep and once more desired to descend the stairs Not less, however, to my satisfaction than surprise, I was summoned only to meet Major Etherington, Mr. Bostwick, and Lieutenant Lesslie, who were in the room below.

These gentlemen had been taken prisoners while looking at the game without the fort and immediately stripped of all their clothes They were now sent into the fort under the charge of Canadians, because, the

Indians having resolved on getting drunk, the chiefs were apprehensive that they would be murdered if they continued in the camp. Lieutenant Jemette and seventy soldiers had been killed; and but twenty Englishmen, including soldiers, were still alive. These were all within the fort, together with nearly three hundred Canadians.

These being our numbers, myself and others proposed to Major Etherington to make an effort for regaining possession of the fort and maintaining it against the Indians. The Jesuit missionary was consulted on the project; but he discouraged us by his representations, not only of the merciless treatment which we must expect from the Indians should they regain their superiority, but of the little dependence which was to be placed upon our Canadian auxiliaries. Thus the fort and prisoners remained in the hands of the Indians, though through the whole night the prisoners and whites were in actual possession, and they were without the gates.

That whole night, or the greater part of it, was passed in mutual condolence, and my fellow prisoners shared my garret. In the morning, being again called down, I found my master, Wenniway, and was desired to follow him. He led me to a small house within the fort, where in a narrow room and almost dark I found Mr. Ezekiel Solomons, an Englishman from Detroit, and a soldier, all prisoners. With these I remained in painful suspense as to the scene that was next to present itself till ten o'clock in the forenoon, when an Indian arrived, and presently marched us to the lakeside where a canoe appeared ready for departure, and in which we found that we were to embark.

Our voyage, full of doubt as it was, would have commenced immediately, but that one of the Indians who was to be of the party was absent. His arrival was to be waited for; and this occasioned a very long delay during which we were exposed to a keen northeast wind An old shirt was all that covered me, I suffe much from the cold, and in this extremity M. lade coming down to the beach, I asked him

CHAPTER FOUR

TOWARD REVOLUTION

1765 – 1775



One •

1765—THE VIRGINIANS TAKE CARE OF A STAMP DISTRIBUTOR

Great Britain emerged from the Seven Years' War with her empire strong as never before. She was mistress of the seas, of North America, of India. She could not see at the time that her victory had been too sweeping. Her American colonists had played their own part in the defeat of the French. In their campaigns they had gained self-reliance at the same time that they had lost some of their respect for the fighting qualities of the British regular. Moreover, they no longer had an enemy at their back door to drive them to the mother country for support.

The cost of the war had been heavy, and the cost of defending the empire would continue. Pontiac's conspiracy had shown that even in North America colonial boundaries would have to be protected. From this expenditure the colonies would benefit, as they had benefited from the war just ended. What could be fairer than that they should bear a share of the burden? So the British ministers reasoned. To that end the enforcement of various revenue acts—the Navigation Act, the Sugar Act—was tightened. The Americans, used to trading as they pleased regardless of laws to the contrary, were annoyed, but limited themselves to grumbling. But when the Stamp Act was passed early in 1765 grumbling changed to forcible resistance.

Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1762–65, lxviii lxxi

The Stamp Act required that revenue stamps be placed on all legal and commercial papers, pamphlets, newspapers, cards, and dice. It was not a burdensome measure, but it was Parliament's first attempt to lay a direct tax on the colonists, and it could not be evaded. The Americans reacted with fury. In a letter to the Lords of Trade, Francis Fauquier, acting governor of Virginia, described what happened when the newly appointed stamp distributor arrived at Williamsburg.

WILLIAMSBURG Nov. 3d 1765.

MY LORDS,

The present unhappy state of this Colony, will, to my great concern, oblige me to trouble Your Lordships with a long and very disagreeable letter. We were for some time in almost daily expectations of the arrival of Colonel Mercer with the Stamps for the use of this Colony, and rumours were industriously thrown out that at the time of the General Court parties would come down from most parts of the country to seize on and destroy all Stamped Papers. . . .

Very unluckily, Colonel Mercer arrived at the time this town was the fullest of Strangers. On Wednesday the 30th October he came up to town. I then thought proper to go to the Coffee house . . . that I might be an eye witness of what did really pass, and not receive it by relation from others. The mercantile people were all assembled as usual The first word I heard was "One and all"; upon which, as at a word agreed on before between themselves, they all quitted the place to find Colonel Mercer at his Father's lodgings where it was known he was. This concourse of people I should call a mob, did I not know that it was chiefly if not altogether composed of gentlemen of property in the Colony, some of them at the head of their respective Counties, and the merchants of the country, whether English, Scotch or Virginian, for few absented themselves. They met Colonel Mercer on the way, just at the Capitol· there they stopped and demanded of him an answer whether he would resign or act in this office

as Distributor of the Stamps. He said it was an affair of great moment to him; he must consult his friends; and promised to give them an answer at 10 o'clock on Friday morning at that place. This did not satisfy them; and they followed him to the Coffee house, in the porch of which I had seated myself with many of the Council and the Speaker, who had posted himself between the crowd and myself. We all received him with the greatest marks of welcome; with which, if one may be allowed to judge by their countenances, they [the "mob"] were not well pleased, tho' they remained quiet and were silent. Now and then a voice was heard from the crowd that Friday was too late; the Act would take place, they would have an answer tomorrow. Several messages were brought to Mr. Mercer by the leading men of the crowd, to whom he constantly answered he had already given an answer and he would have no other extorted from him. After some time a cry was heard, "let us rush in." Upon this we that were at the top of the [steps], knowing the advantage our situation gave us to repell those who should attempt to mount them, advanced to the edge of the Steps, of which number I was one. I immediately heard a cry, "See the Governor, take care of him." Those who before were pushing up the steps, immediately fell back, and left a small space between me and them If your Lordships will not accuse me of vanity I would say that I believe this to be partly owing to the respect they bore to my character and partly to the love they bore to my person After much entreaty of some of his friends, Mr. Mercer was, against his own inclination, prevailed upon to promise them an answer at the Capitol the next evening at five. The crowd did not yet disperse; it was growing dark, and I did not think it safe to have to leave Mr Mercer behind me, so I again advanced to the edge of the steps and said aloud I believed no man there would do me any hurt, and turned to Mr. Mercer and told him if he would walk with me through the people I believed I could conduct him safe to my house, and we accordingly walked side by side through the thickest of the people, who did

molest us, tho' there was some little murmurs. By me thus taking him under my protection, I believe I saved him from being insulted at least. When we got home we had much discourse on the subject. . . . He left me that night in a state of uncertainty what part he should act.

Accordingly Mr. Mercer appeared at the Capitol at 5, as he had promised. The number of people assembled there was much increased, by messengers having been sent into the neighborhood for that purpose. Colonel Mercer then read to them the answer [his resignation] which is printed in the Supplement of the Gazette, of which I enclose your Lordships a copy, to which I beg leave to refer. . . .

If I accepted the resignation, I must appoint another, and I was well convinced I could not find one to accept of it, in those circumstances, which would render the office cheap. Besides if I left Mr Mercer in possession of the place he would be always ready to distribute the Stamped papers, whenever peoples eyes should be opened and they should come to their senses, so as to receive them. . . .

Francis Fauquier.

Colonel Mercer has informed me that he proposes to apply to the Commanders of His Majesty's ships of War, to take the Stamped Papers on board their ships for His Majesty's service: it being the place of the greatest if not the only security for them· for I am convinced, as well as himself, that it would be extremely dangerous to attempt to land them during the present fermented state of the Colony. If these Gentlemen should refuse to take charge of them, and Mr. Mercer should apply to me, I will do my duty to His Majesty and save them from being destroyed, to the best of my power, tho' I can by no means answer for the success of my endeavors. . . .

I am with the greatest respect and esteem, my Lords
Your Lordships most obedient
and devoted Servant.

Francis Fauquier.

Two.

1765—JOHN ADAMS ACCLAIMS THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY

In faraway Massachusetts, John Adams, a thirty-four-year-old lawyer from whom more would be heard in the future, recorded year-end reflections in his diary. His views of the Stamp Act differed from that of Governor Fauquier.

Braintree, December 18, Wednesday. . . . The year 1765 has been the most remarkable year of my life. That enormous engine, fabricated by the British Parliament, for battering down all the rights and liberties of America, I mean the Stamp Act, has raised and spread through the whole continent a spirit that will be recorded to our honor with all future generations. In every colony, from Georgia to New Hampshire inclusively, the stamp distributors and inspectors have been compelled by the unconquerable rage of the people to renounce their offices Such and so universal has been the resentment of the people, that every man who has dared to speak in favor of the stamps, or to soften the detestation in which they are held, how great soever his abilities and virtues had been esteemed before, or whatever his fortune, connections, and influence had been, has been seen to sink into universal contempt and ignominy.

The people, even to the lowest ranks, have become more attentive to their liberties, more inquisitive about them, and more determined to defend them, than they were ever before known or had occasion to be; innumerable have been the monuments of wit, humor,

Charles Francis Adams, Ed, *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850), II, 154, 173

sense, learning, spirit, patriotism, and heroism, erected in the several colonies and provinces in the course of this year. Our presses have groaned, our pulpits have thundered, our legislatures have resolved, our towns have voted, the crown officers have everywhere trembled, and all their little tools and creatures have been afraid to speak and ashamed to be seen. . . .

[January 2, 1766] At Philadelphia, the Heart-and-Hand Fire Company has expelled Mr. Hughes, the stamp man for that colony. The freemen of Talbot county, in Maryland, have erected a gibbet before the door of the court-house, twenty feet high, and have hanged on it the effigies of a stamp informer in chains, *in terrorem* till the Stamp Act shall be repealed; and have resolved unanimously, to hold in utter contempt and abhorrence every stamp officer, and every favorer of the Stamp Act, and to "have no communication with any such person, not even to speak to him, unless to upbraid him with his baseness" So triumphant is the spirit of liberty everywhere Such a union was never before known in America.

Three ·

1772—RHODE ISLANDERS BURN THE GASPÉE

In the face of united opposition the British government retreated. In March, 1766, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act. But it had no intention of allowing the colonists to escape taxation permanently. In 1767 it passed the Townshend Acts, levying certain customs duties in addition to those already in force, only to repeal the Acts when the Americans refused to import British goods. Repealed them, that is, except for the tax on tea, which a stubborn monarch, George III, insisted on retaining as a mark of Parliamentary

authority. At the same time, the British strengthened the customs patrol in American waters By this time, smuggling had become a patriotic duty. When the *Gaspée*, a British revenue cutter, ran aground in Narragansett Bay, she offered an opportunity too tempting to be neglected. Ephraim Bowen tells what happened.

In the year 1772, the British government had stationed at Newport, Rhode Island, the schooner called the Gaspee, of eight guns, commanded by Wm. Duddingston, a Lieutenant in the British Navy, for the purpose of preventing the clandestine landing of articles, subject to the payment of duty. The Captain of this schooner made it his practice to stop and board all vessels entering or leaving the ports of Rhode Island, or leaving Newport for Providence

On the 10th day of June, 1772, Capt. Thomas Lindsey left Newport in his packet for Providence, about noon, with the wind at North, and soon after, the Gaspee was under sail, in pursuit of Lindsey, and continued the chase as far as Namquit Point, which runs off from the farm in Warwick about seven miles below Providence, now owned by Mr. John Brown Francis, our late Governor.—Lindsey was standing easterly, with the tide on ebb about two hours, when he hove about, at the end of Namquit Point, and stood to the westward, and Duddingston in close chase, changed his course and ran on the Point, near its end, and grounded. Lindsey continued on his course up the river, and arrived at Providence about sunset, when he immediately informed Mr. John Brown, one of our first and most respectable merchants, of the situation of the Gaspee. He immediately concluded that she would remain immovable until after midnight, and that now an opportunity offered of putting an end to the trouble and vexation she daily caused. Mr. Brown immediately resolved on her destruction, and he forthwith directed one of his trusty shipmasters to collect eight

William R. Staples, Ed, *Documentary History of the* r*ing of the Gaspée* (Providence, 1845), 8–9.

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Joseph Bucklin, who was standing on the main thwart by my right side, said to me, "Ephe, reach me your gun and I can kill that fellow." I reached it to him accordingly, when, during Capt. Whipple's replying, Bucklin fired and Duddingston fell, and Bucklin exclaimed, "I have killed the rascal" In less than a minute after Capt. Whipple's answer, the boats were alongside of the Gaspee, and boarded without opposition. The men on deck retreated below as Duddingston entered the cabin.

As it was discovered that he was wounded, John Mawney, who had for two or three years been studying physic and surgery, was ordered to go into the cabin and dress Duddingston's wound, and I was directed to assist him. On examination, it was found the ball took effect about five inches below the navel Duddingston called for Mr Dickinson to produce bandages and other necessaries for the dressing of the wound, and when finished, orders were given to the schooner's company to collect their clothing and everything belonging to them and put them into their boats, as all of them were to be sent on shore All were soon collected and put on board of the boats, including one of our boats. They departed and landed Duddingston at the old still-house wharf, at Pawtuxet, and put the chief into the house of Joseph Rhodes Soon after, all the party were ordered to depart, leaving one boat for the leaders of the expedition, who soon set the vessel on fire, which consumed her to the waters' edge.

Four •

1775—MINUTEMEN PUNISH THE BRITISH IN MASSACHUSETTS

Relations between England and the colonies steadily became worse. Bostonians pitched a cargo of tea into the harbor. The British retaliated by closing the Massachusetts port to shipping and stationing troops there. Minutemen, pledged to spring to arms at a minute's warning, drilled on village greens. In mid-April, 1775, the British commander in Boston heard a report that arms were being collected at Concord, some twenty miles northwest of the city. On the evening of the 18th he dispatched a force of 700 regulars to destroy the stores Warned by Paul Revere and William Dawes, the militia assembled under arms · Lexington, five miles east of Concord. This account the day's events comes from the Rev. Jonas Clark, Lexington minister in the forefront of the revolu- movement.

Between the hours of twelve and one, on the morning of the nineteenth of April, we received intelligence, by express from the Honorable Joseph Warren Esq; at Boston, "that a large body of the king's troops (supposed to be a brigade of about 12, or 1500) were embarked in boats from Boston, and gone over to land on Lechmere's-Point (so called) in Cambridge. And that it was shrewdly suspected, that they were ordered to seize and destroy the stores, belonging to the colony, then deposited at Concord," in consequence of General Gage's unjustifiable seizure of the provincial magazine of powder at Medford, and other colony stores. . . .

Jonas Clark, Opening of the War of the Revolution, *19th of April, 1775.* A Brief Narrative of the Principal Transaction of That Day (Boston, 1875), 5–8.

Upon this intelligence, as also upon information of the conduct of the officers as above-mentioned, the militia of this town were alarmed, and ordered to meet on the usual place of parade; not with any design of commencing hostilities upon the king's troops, but to consult what might be done for our own and the people's safety: And also to be ready for whatever service providence might call us out to, upon this alarming occasion, in case overt acts of violence, or open hostilities should be committed by this mercenary band of armed and bloodthirsty oppressors.

About the same time, two persons were sent express to Cambridge, if possible, to gain intelligence of the motions of the troops, and what route they took.

The militia met according to order; and waited the return of the messengers, that they might order their measures as occasion should require. Between 3 and 4 o'clock, one of the expresses returned, informing, that there was no appearance of the troops, on the roads, either from Cambridge or Charlestown, and that it was supposed that the movements in the army the evening before, were only a feint to alarm the people. Upon this, therefore, the militia company were dismissed for the present, but with orders to be within call of the drum,—waiting the return of the other messenger, who was expected in about an hour, or sooner, if any discovery should be made of the motions of the troops.—But he was prevented by their silent and sudden arrival at the place where he was, waiting for intelligence. So that, after all this precaution, we had no notice of their approach, 'till the brigade was actually in the town, and upon a quick march within about a mile and a quarter of the meeting house and place of parade.

However, the commanding officer thought best to call the company together,—not with any design of opposing so superior a force, much less of commencing hostilities; but only with a view to determine what to do, when and where to meet, and to dismiss and disperse.

Accordingly, about half an hour after four

alarm guns were fired, and the drums beat to arms; and the militia were collecting together—Some, to the number of about 50, or 60, or possibly more, were on the parade, others were coming towards it.—In the mean time, the troops, having thus stolen a march upon us, and to prevent any intelligence of their approach, having seized and held prisoners several persons whom they met unarmed upon the road, seemed to come determined for murder and bloodshed, and that whether provoked to it, or not!—When within about half a quarter of a mile of the meeting-house, they halted, and the command was given to prime and load, which being done, they marched on 'till they came up to the east end of said meeting-house, in sight of our militia (collecting as aforesaid) who were about 12, or 13 rods distant—Immediately upon their appearing so suddenly, and so nigh, Capt. Parker, who commanded the militia company, ordered the men to disperse, and take care of themselves; and not to fire—Upon this, our men dispersed,—but, many of them, not so speedily as they might have done, not having the most distant idea of such brutal barbarity and more than savage cruelty, from the troops of a British king, as they immediately experienced!-!—For, no sooner did they come in sight of our company, but one of them, supposed to be an officer of rank, was heard to say to the troops, "Damn them; we will have them!"—Upon which the troops shouted aloud, huzza'd, and rushed furiously towards our men.—About the same time, three officers (supposed to be Col. Smith, Major Pitcairn and another officer) advanced, on horse back, to the front of the body, and coming within 5 or 6 rods of the militia, one of them cried out, "ye villains, ye Rebels, disperse; Damn you, disperse!"—or words to this effect. One of them (whether the same, or not, is not easily determined) said, "Lay down your arms; Damn you, why don't you lay down your arms!"—The second of these officers, about this time, fired a pistol towards the militia, as they were dispersing—The foremost, who was within a few yards of our men, brandishing his sword, and then pointing towards them, with a loud

voice said, to the troops, "Fire!—By God, fire!"—which was instantly followed by a discharge of arms from the said troops, succeeded by a very heavy and close fire upon our party, dispersing, so long as any of them were within reach.—Eight were left dead upon the ground! Ten were wounded.—The rest of the company, through divine goodness, were (to a miracle) preserved unhurt in this murderous action!

. . . Having thus vanquished the party in Lexington, the troops marched on for Concord, to execute their orders, in destroying the stores belonging to the colony, deposited there.—They met with no interruption in their march to Concord.—But by some means or other, the people of Concord had notice of their approach and designs, and were alarmed about break of day, and collecting as soon, and as many as possible, improved the time they had before the troops came upon them, to the best advantage, both for concealing and securing as many of the public stores as they could, and in preparing for defence.—By the stop of the troops at Lexington, many thousands were saved to the colony, and they were, in a great measure, frustrated in their design.

When the troops made their approach to the easterly part of the town, the provincials of Concord and some neighboring towns, were collected and collecting in an advantageous post, on a hill, a little distance from the meeting-house, north of the road, to the number of about 150, or 200: but finding the troops to be more than three times as many, they wisely retreated, first to a hill about 80 rods further north, and then over the north-bridge (so called) about a mile from the town: and there they waited the coming of the militia of the towns adjacent, to their assistance.

In the mean time, the British detachment marched into the center of the town. A party of about 200, was ordered to take possession of said bridge, other parties were dispatched to various parts of the town, in . . . were employe . . . of public stores, while the remainder . . . seizing and destroying, whatever they could fi . . . town-house, and other places, where

lodged—But before they had accomplished their design, they were interrupted by a discharge of arms, at said bridge.

It seems, that of the party above-mentioned, as ordered to take possession of the bridge, one half were marched on about two miles, in search of stores, at Col Barret's and that part of the town. while the other half, consisting of towards 100 men, under Capt Lawne, were left to guard the bridge. The provincials, who were in sight of the bridge, observing the troops attempting to take up the planks of said bridge, thought it necessary to dislodge them, and gain possession of the bridge—They accordingly marched, but with express orders not to fire, unless first fired upon by the king's troops Upon their approach towards the bridge, Capt. Lawne's party fired upon them, killed Capt. Davis and another man dead upon the spot, and wounded several others. Upon this our militia rushed on, with a spirit becoming free-born Americans, returned the fire upon the enemy, killed 2, wounded several and drove them from the bridge, and pursued them towards the town, 'till they were covered by a reinforcement from the main body. The provincials then took post on a hill, at some distance, north of the town. and as their numbers were continually increasing, they were preparing to give the troops a proper discharge, on their departure from the town.

In the mean time, the king's troops collected; and having dressed their wounded, destroyed what stores they could find, and insulted and plundered a number of the inhabitants, prepared for a retreat.

While at Concord, the troops disabled two 24 pounders; destroyed their 2 carriages, and seven wheels for the same, with their limbers. Sixteen wheels for brass 3 pounders, and 2 carriages with limber and wheels for two 4 pounders They threw into the river, wells, &c. about 500 weight of ball· and stove about 60 barrels of flour; but not having time to perfect their work, one half of the flour was afterwards saved.

The troops began a hasty retreat about the middle of the day: and were no sooner out of the town, but

they began to meet the effects of the just resentments of this injured people. The provincials fired upon them from various quarters, and pursued them (though without any military order) with a firmness and intrepidity, beyond what could have been expected, on the first onset, and in such a day of confusion and distress!—The fire was returned, for a time, with great fury, by the *troops* as they retreated, though (through divine goodness) with but little execution—This scene continued, with but little intermission, till they returned to Lexington; when it was evident, that, having lost numbers in killed, wounded, and prisoners that fell into our hands, they began to be, not only fatigued, but greatly disheartened And it is supposed they must have soon surrendered at discretion, had they not been reinforced. —But Lord Percy's arrival with another brigade, of about 1000 men, and 2 field pieces, about half a mile from Lexington meeting-house, towards Cambridge, gave them a seasonable respite.

The coming of the reinforcement, with the cannon, (which our people were not so well acquainted with then, as they have been since) put the provincials also to a pause, for a time.—But no sooner were the king's troops in motion, but our men renewed the pursuit with equal, and even greater ardor and intrepidity than before, and the firing on both sides continued, with but little intermission, to the close of the day, when the troops entered Charlestown, where the provincials could not follow them, without exposing the worthy inhabitants of that truly patriotic town, to their rage and revenge—That night and the next day, they were conveyed in boats, over Charles-River to Boston, glad to secure themselves, under the cover of the shipping, and by strengthening and perfecting the fortifications, at every part, against the further attacks of a justly incensed people, who, upon intelligence of the murderous transactions of this fatal day, were collecting in arms, round the town, in great numbers, and from every quarter.

In the retreat of the king's troops from Lexington, they ravaged and plundered, as they

lodged.—But before they had accomplished their design, they were interrupted by a discharge of arms, at said bridge.

It seems, that of the party above-mentioned, as ordered to take possession of the bridge, one half were marched on about two miles, in search of stores, at Col. Barret's and that part of the town: while the other half, consisting of towards 100 men, under Capt. Lawrie, were left to guard the bridge. The provincials, who were in sight of the bridge, observing the troops attempting to take up the planks of said bridge, thought it necessary to dislodge them, and gain possession of the bridge—They accordingly marched, but with express orders not to fire, unless first fired upon by the king's troops Upon their approach towards the bridge, Capt. Lawrie's party fired upon them, killed Capt. Davis *and another man dead upon the spot, and wounded* several others. Upon this our militia rushed on, with a spirit becoming free-born Americans, returned the fire upon the enemy, killed 2, wounded several and drove them from the bridge, and pursued them towards the town, 'till they were covered by a reinforcement from the main body The provincials then took post on a hill, at some distance, north of the town and as their numbers were continually increasing, they were preparing to give the troops a proper discharge, on their departure from the town.

In the mean time, the king's troops collected; and having dressed their wounded, destroyed what stores they could find, and insulted and plundered a number of the inhabitants, prepared for a retreat.

While at Concord, the troops disabled two 24 pounders; destroyed their 2 carriages, and seven wheels for the same, with their limbers. Sixteen wheels for brass 3 pounders, and 2 carriages with limber and wheels for two 4 pounders They threw into the river, wells, &c. about 500 weight of ball and stove about 60 barrels of flour, but not having time to perfect their work, one half of the flour was afterwards saved.

The troops began a hasty retreat about the middle of the day: and were no sooner out of the town, but

Five.

1775—ETHAN ALLEN TAKES TICONDEROGA

Word of Lexington and Concord spread fast. Ethan Allen, commandant of the Green Mountain Boys, heard it in Vermont. On the heels of the news came instructions from Connecticut that he attack Fort Ticonderoga, a British outpost on Lake Champlain. To the hot-tempered, impulsive, courageous commander no order could have been more welcome. Allen himself describes the way he carried it out.

Ever since I arrived to a state of manhood, and acquainted myself with the general history of mankind, I have felt a sincere passion for liberty. The history of nations, doomed to perpetual slavery, in consequence of yielding up to tyrants their natural-born liberties, I read with a sort of philosophical horror; so that the first systematical and bloody attempt, at Lexington, to enslave America, thoroughly electrified my mind, and fully determined me to take part with my country: And, while I was wishing for an opportunity to signalize myself in its behalf, directions were privately sent to me from the then colony (now state) of Connecticut, to raise the Green Mountain Boys, and, if possible, with them surprise and take the fortress, Ticonderoga. This enterprise I cheerfully undertook; and, after first guarding all the several passes that led thither, to cut off all intelligence between the garrison and the country, made a forced march from Bennington, and arrived at the lake opposite to Ticonderoga, on the evening of the ninth day of May, 1775, with two hundred and thirty valiant Green Mountain Boys; and it was with

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A Narrative of Col Ethan Allen's Captivity . . . Written by Himself (Walpole, N. H., 1807), 13–20.

portunity, more or less, in most of the houses that were upon the road.—But after they were joined by Percy's brigade, in Lexington, it seemed as if all the little remains of humanity had left them; and rage and revenge had taken the reins, and knew no bounds! —Cloathing, furniture, provisions, goods, plundered, broken, carried off, or destroyed!—Buildings (especially dwelling houses) abused, defaced, battered, shattered and almost ruined!—And as if this had not been enough, numbers of them doomed to the flames!—Three dwelling houses, two shops and a barn, were laid in ashes, in Lexington!—Many others were set on fire, in this town, in Cambridge, &c. and all must have shared the same fate, had not the close pursuit of the provincials prevented, and the flames been seasonably quenched!—Add to all this; the unarmed, the aged and infirm, who were unable to flee, are inhumanly stabbed and murdered in their habitations! Yea, even women in child-bed, with their helpless babes in their arms, do not escape the horrid alternative, of being either cruelly murdered in their beds, burnt in their habitations, or turned into the streets to perish with cold, nakedness and distress!

. . . Our loss, in the several actions of that day, was 49 killed, 34 wounded and 5 missing, who were taken prisoners, and have since been exchanged The enemy's loss, according to the best accounts, in killed, wounded and missing, about 300.

the utmost difficulty that I procured boats to cross the lake. However, I landed eighty-three men near the garrison, and sent the boats back for the rear guard, commanded by Col. Seth Warner, but the day began to dawn, and I found myself under a necessity to attack the fort, before the rear could cross the lake; and, as it was viewed hazardous, I harrangued the officers and soldiers in the manner following:

"Friends and fellow soldiers: You have, for a number of years past, been a scourge and terror to arbitrary power. Your valor has been famed abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me, from the General Assembly of Connecticut, to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and, in person, conduct you through the wicket-gate; for we must this morning either quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes; and, inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily, póise your firelocks."

The men being, at this time, drawn up in three ranks, each poised his firelock. I ordered them to face to the right; and, at the head of the centre file, marched them immediately to the wicket gate aforesaid, where I found a sentry posted, who instantly snapped his fusee at me: I ran immediately towards him, and he retreated through the covered way into the parade in such manner as to face the two barracks which faced each other. The garrison being asleep, except the sentries, we gave three huzzas which greatly surprised them. One of the sentries made a pass at one of my officers with a charged bayonet, and slightly wounded him: my first thought was to kill him with my sword, but, in an instant, I altered the design and fury of the blow to a slight cut on the side of the head; upon which he dropped his gun, and asked quarter, which I readily granted him, and demanded of him the place where the commanding officer kept, he shewed me a pair of stairs in front of a barrack, on the west part of the

garrison, which led up to a second story in said barrack, to which I immediately repaired, and ordered the commander, Capt. Delaplace, to come forth instantly, or I would sacrifice the whole garrison; at which the Capt. came immediately to the door, with his breeches in his hand, when I ordered him to deliver to me the fort instantly, he asked me by what authority I demanded it: I answered him, "In the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress" The authority of the Congress being very little known at that time, he began to speak again; but I interrupted him, and, with my drawn sword over his head, again demanded an immediate surrender of the garrison; with which he then complied, and ordered his men to be forthwith paraded without arms, as he had given up the garrison.

In the meantime some of my officers had given orders, and, in consequence thereof, sundry of the barrack doors were beat down, and about one-third of the garrison imprisoned, which consisted of the said commander, a Lieut. Feltham, a conductor of artillery, a gunner, two serjeants, and forty-four rank and file; about one hundred pieces of cannon, one thirteen inch mortar, and a number of swivels. This surprise was carried into execution in the gray of the morning of the tenth day of May, 1775 The sun seemed to rise that morning with a superior lustre; and Ticonderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl, and wished success to Congress, and the liberty and freedom of America.

Six ·

1775—BUNKER HILL

Concord, Lexington, Ticonderoga—these were war, though the colonists were subjects of Great Britain and many, perhaps most of them, still rejected the idea of independence. But sentiment did not prevent the New Englanders from laying siege to Boston, to which the British had retired after their disastrous expedition to Lexington and Concord. The siege dragged on into June. On the 15th of that month the Americans learned that General Gage, commanding the King's troops, intended to occupy Dorchester Heights outside of the city. The next day the Americans, to checkmate Gage, moved into position on Breed's Hill, from which they could throw shot into the city itself. The British had no real choice: either they drove the American forces from their new position, a strong one, or Boston would be battered down around them.

A colonial officer described the action, known in history as Bunker Hill though it actually was fought on Breed's Hill.

Finding the zeal of the troops so great . . . it was resolved to force General Gage to an action; with this view it was determined to seize possession of the height on the peninsula of Charles-Town, which General Gage had occupied before the 19th of April, and erect some batteries on Banhin-hill [Bunker-hill], to batter down the town and General Gage's camp on the common and his entrenchment on Boston neck (which you know is only about three fourths of a mile across); 4000 men commanded by General Putnam, and led on by

Margaret Wheeler Willard, *Letters on the American Revolution* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925), 150–52.

Dr Warren, having prepared every thing for the operation as well as could be contrived or collected were stationed under a half unfinished breastwork and some palisadoes fix'd in a hurry. When the enemy were landed, to the number of 2500, as we are since informed being the light infantry and the grenadiers of the army with a compleat train of artillery, howitzers and field pieces, drawn by 200 sailors, and commanded by the most gallant and experienced officers of the last war; they marched to engage 3000 provincials, arrayed in red worsted caps and blue great coats, with guns of different sizes, few of which had bayonets, ill-served artillery, but of invincible courage! The fire from the ships and artillery of the enemy was horrid and amazing, the first onset of the soldiers was bold and fierce, but they were received with equal courage; at length the 38th regiment gave way, and the rest recoiled The King's troops were commanded by General Howe, brother to that gallant Lord Howe to whose memory the province of Massachusett's Bay erected a statue; he marched with undaunted spirit at the head of his men, most of his followers were killed round his own person. The King's troops about this time got into much confusion and retreated, they were rallied by the reproaches of General Howe, and the activity of General Clinton who then joined the battle The King's troops again made their push against Charles-Town, which was then set on fire by them, our right flank being then uncovered, two floating batteries coming in by the mill dam to take us in the rear, more troops coming from Boston, and our ammunition being almost expended, General Putnam ordered the troops on the left to retreat; the confusion was great for twenty minutes, but in less than half an hour we fell into compleat order; the regulars were so mauled they durst not pursue us 200 yards; almost the last shot they fired they killed good Dr. Warren, who had dressed himself like Lord Falkland, in his wedding suit, and distinguished himself by unparalleled acts of bravery during the whole act but particularly in covering the retreat, he was of great courage, universal learning, and much l

It may well be said he is the greatest loss we have sustained. General Putnam, at the age of 60, was as active as the youngest officer in the field. We have lost 104 killed, and 306 wounded; a Lieutenant Colonel and 30 men are prisoners; we anxiously wait their fate; if there are any severity used the war will become most horrid.—We lost before the action began 18 men by the fire of the ships and the battery from Boston, these were burried before the assault. The number of the King's troops killed and wounded are three times our loss A sailor belonging to one of the transports, who was busy with many of his companions in rifling the dead, and who has since deserted, assured me the ground was covered with officers. The cannon was dreadful. The King's troops began firing at a great distance, being scarce of ammunition deferred our fire. It was impossible to send troops from Roxburgh, because we expected an attack there, or at Dorchester neck. I am well informed many of the old English officers are since dead.

CHAPTER FIVE

INDEPENDENCE

1774 - 1776



One.

1774—JOHN ADAMS DESCRIBES THE GATHERING OF THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

In the summer of 1774 the American colonists came to the conclusion that if they were to make their protests against the course of the mother country effective they would have to act together. Accordingly a Congress—later known as the First Continental Congress—was called to meet at Philadelphia in early September All the colonies except Georgia sent delegates John Adams, from Massachusetts, reached Philadelphia at the end of August Each night he recorded the events of the day in his diary. His entries afford a vivid picture of the leading men of the colonies, most of whom were meeting each other for the first time Their attitudes, as Adams reported them, reflected the public opinion of the colonists: resistance, in the name of liberty but as loyal British subjects, to what they considered invasions of their rights by the King and his ministers. The delegates, Adams makes clear, were not old fogies; they saw no reason for not having a good time even though they were considering problems as grave as men have ever faced.

Edmund C Burnett, Letters of Members of t Congress (Washington, 1921), I, 1-4.

This is a young, smart, spirited body. . . .

31. Wednesday. Breakfasted at Mr. Bayard's, of Philadelphia, with Mr. Sprout, a Presbyterian minister.

Made a visit to Governor Ward, of Rhode Island, at his lodgings. There we were introduced to several gentlemen. Mr. Dickinson, the farmer of Pennsylvania, came in his coach with four beautiful horses to Mr. Ward's lodgings, to see us. He was introduced to us, and very politely said he was exceeding glad to have the pleasure of seeing these gentlemen. . . . We dined with Mr. Lynch, his lady and daughter, at their lodgings, Mrs McKenzie's; and a very agreeable dinner and afternoon we had, notwithstanding the violent heat. We were all vastly pleased with Mr Lynch. He is a solid, firm, judicious man. He told us that Colonel Washington made the most eloquent speech at the Virginia Convention that ever was made. Says he, "I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston." . . .

September 1. Thursday. This day we breakfasted at Mr. Mifflin's Mr C Thomson came in, and soon after, Dr Smith, the famous Dr Smith, the provost of the college. He appears a plain man, tall and rather awkward, there is an appearance of art. We then went to return visits to the gentlemen who had visited us We visited a Mr. Cadwallader, a gentleman of large fortune, a grand and elegant house and furniture We then visited Mr. Powell, another splendid seat. We then visited the gentlemen from South Carolina, and, about twelve, were introduced to Mr. Galloway, the Speaker of the House in Pennsylvania.

We dined at Friend Collins's, Stephen Collins's, with Governor Hopkins, Governor Ward, Mr Galloway, Mr. Rhoades, etc In the evening, all the gentlemen of the Congress who were arrived in town, met at Smith's, the new city tavern, and spent the evening together. Twenty-five members were come. Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, and the city of New York, were not arrived. Mr William Livingston, from th Jerseys, lately of New York, was there. He is a . .

man, *tall, black, wears his hair;* nothing elegant or genteel about him They say he is no public speaker, *but very sensible and learned, and a ready writer.* Mr. Rutledge, the elder, was there, but his appearance is *not* very promising. There *is no keenness* in his eye, no depth in his countenance; nothing of the profound, sagacious, brilliant, or sparkling, in his first appearance. . . .

2. *Friday.* Dined at Mr Thomas Mifflin's, with Mr. Lynch, Mr. Middleton, and the two Rutledges with their ladies. The two Rutledges are good lawyers. Governor Hopkins and Governor Ward were in company. Mr. Lynch gave us a sentiment: "The brave Dantzickers, who declare they will be free in the face of the greatest monarch in Europe." We were very sociable *and happy. After coffee, we went to the tavern, where* we were introduced *to Peyton* Randolph, Esquire, *Speaker of Virginia,* Colonel Harrison, *Richard Henry* Lee, Esquire, and Colonel Bland. Randolph is a large, well looking man; Lee is a tall, spare man; Bland is a learned, bookish man.

These gentlemen from Virginia appear to be the most spirited and consistent of any. Harrison said he would have come on foot rather than not come. Bland said he would have gone, upon this occasion, if it had been to Jericho

3. *Saturday* Breakfasted at Dr. Shippen's; Dr. Witherspoon was there. Col. R. H Lee lodges there; he *is a masterly man.* This Mr. Lee is a brother *of the* sheriff of London, and of Dr. Arthur Lee, and of Mrs. Shippen; *they are all sensible and deep thinkers.* Lee is for making the repeal of every revenue law—the *Boston Port Bill,* the bill *for altering the* Massachusetts constitution, and the Quebec Bill, and the removal of all the troops, the end of the Congress, and an abstinence from all dutied articles, the means—rum, molasses, sugar, tea, wine, fruits, etc. He is absolutely certain that the same ship which carries home the resolution will bring back the redress. If we were to suppose that any time would intervene, he should be for exceptions. He thinks we should inform his Majesty

that we never can be happy, while the Lords Bute, Mansfield, and North, are his confidants and counsellors He took his pen and attempted a calculation of the numbers of people represented by the Congress, which he made about two millions two hundred thousand, and of the revenue, now actually raised, which he made eighty thousand pounds sterling He would not allow Lord North to have great abilities, he had seen no symptoms of them; his whole administration had been blunder. He said the opposition had been so feeble and incompetent hitherto, that it was time to make vigorous exertions. . . .

Mr. Lee thinks that to strike at the Navigation Acts would unite every man in Britain against us, because the kingdom could not exist without them, and the advantages they derive from these regulations and restrictions of our trade are an ample compensation for all the protection they have afforded us, or will afford us Dr. Witherspoon enters with great spirit into the American cause He seems as hearty a friend as any of the natives, an animated Son of Liberty. This forenoon, Mr. Caesar Rodney of the lower counties on Delaware River, two Mr. Tilghmans from Maryland, were introduced to us. We went with Mr. William Barrell to his store, and drank punch, and eat dried smoked sprats with him; read the papers and our letters from Boston, dined with Mr Joseph Reed, the lawyer, with Mrs. Deberdt and Mrs Reed, Mr Willing, Mr Thomas Smith, Mr. Dehart, etc; spent the evening at Mr Mifflin's, with Lee and Harrison from Virginia, the two Rutledges, Dr. Witherspoon, Dr Shippen, Dr. Steptoe, and another gentleman; an elegant supper, and we drank sentiments till eleven o'clock. Lee and Harrison were very high. Lee had dined with Mr. Dickinson, and drank Burgundy the whole afternoon.

Harrison gave us for a sentiment, "A constitutional death to the Lords Bute, Mansfield, and North" Paine gave us, "May the collision of British flint and American steel produce that spark of liberty which sh illumine the latest posterity" "Wisdom to Britain firmness to the Colonies, may Britain be

America free" "The friends of America throughout the world." "Union of the Colonies." "Unanimity to the Congress." "May the result of the Congress answer the expectations of the people." "Union of Britain and the Colonies on a constitutional foundation," and many other such toasts. Young Rutledge told me he studied three years at the Temple. He thinks this a great distinction; says he took a volume of notes which J. Quincy transcribed; says that young gentlemen ought to travel early, because that freedom and ease of behavior which is so necessary cannot be acquired but in early life. The Rutledge is young, sprightly, but not deep, he has the most indistinct, inarticulate way of speaking, speaks through his nose; a wretched speaker in conversation. How he will shine in public, I don't yet know. He seems good-natured, though conceited. His lady is with him, in bad health. His brother still maintains the air of reserve, design, and cunning, like Duane and Galloway and Bob Auchmuty. Caesar Rodney is the oddest looking man in the world; he is tall, thin and slender as a reed, pale, his face is not bigger than a large apple, yet there is sense and fire, spirit, wit, and humor in his countenance. He made himself very merry with Ruggles and his pretended scruples and timidities at the last Congress. Mr. Reed told us, at dinner, that he never saw greater joy than he saw in London when the news arrived that the non-importation agreement was broke. They were universally shaking hands and congratulating each other. He says that George Hayley is the worst enemy to America that he knew there. Swore to him that he would stand by government in all its measures, and was always censuring and cursing America. . . .

Two.

1775—GEORGE WASHINGTON IS PLACED IN COMMAND OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

The First Continental Congress adopted a Declaration of Rights and a series of agreements by which the colonists pledged themselves neither to import from nor to export to Great Britain Before adjourning, the delegates resolved to meet again on May 10, 1775, if by that time their grievances had not been redressed.

At the appointed time the delegates were back in Philadelphia. They knew that an army of New Englanders had laid Boston under siege. Should that army be declared the military force of the united colonies under a commander chosen by the Continental Congress? John Adams related in his Autobiography how George Washington, the forty-three-year-old Virginia planter whom he described elsewhere as "modest and virtuous, amiable, generous, and brave," was chosen in the face of considerable opposition.

In several conversations, I found more than one very cool about the appointment of Washington, and particularly Mr. Pendleton was very clear and full against it Full of anxieties concerning these confusions, and apprehending daily that we should hear very distressing news from Boston, I walked with Mr. Samuel Adams in the State House yard, for a little exercise and fresh air, before the hour of Congress, and there represented to him the various dangers that surrounded us He agreed to them all, but said, "What shall we do?" I answered

Charles Francis Adams, Ed., *The Life and Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850), II, 416-18.

him, that he knew I had taken great pains to get our colleagues to agree upon some plan, that we might be unanimous; but he knew that they would pledge themselves to nothing, but I was determined to take a step which should compel them and all the other members of Congress to declare themselves for or against something. "I am determined this morning to make a direct motion that Congress should adopt the army before Boston, and appoint Colonel Washington commander of it." Mr. Adams seemed to think very seriously of it, but said nothing

Accordingly, when Congress had assembled, I rose in my place, and in as short a speech as the subject would admit, represented the state of the Colonies, the uncertainty in the minds of the people, their great expectation and anxiety, the distresses of the army, the danger of its dissolution, the difficulty of collecting another, and the probability that the British army would take advantage of our delays, march out of Boston, and spread desolation as far as they could go I concluded with a motion, in form, that Congress would adopt the army at Cambridge, and appoint a General; that though this was not the proper time to nominate a General, yet, as I had reason to believe this was a point of the greatest difficulty, I had no hesitation to declare that I had but one gentleman in my mind for that important command, and that was a gentleman from Virginia who was among us and very well known to all of us, a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the Colonies better than any other person in the Union. Mr Washington, who happened to sit near the door, as soon as he heard me allude to him, from his usual modesty, darted into the library-room Mr Hancock,—who was our President, which gave me an opportunity to observe his countenance while I was speaking on the state of the Colonies, the army at Cambridge, and the enemy,—heard me with visible

pleasure; but when I came to describe Washington for the commander, I never remarked a more sudden and striking change of countenance. Mortification and resentment were expressed as forcibly as his face could exhibit them. Mr. Samuel Adams seconded the motion, and that did not soften the President's physiognomy at all The subject came under debate, and several gentlemen declared themselves against the appointment of Mr. Washington, not on account of any personal objection against him, but because the army were all from New England, had a General of their own, appeared to be satisfied with him, and had proved themselves able to imprison the British army in Boston, which was all they expected or desired at that time. Mr Pendleton, of Virginia, Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, were very explicit in declaring this opinion, Mr. Cushing and several others more faintly expressed their opposition, and their fears of discontents in the army and in New England Mr. Paine expressed a great opinion of General Ward and a strong friendship for him, having been his classmate at college, or at least his contemporary; but gave no opinion upon the question. The subject was postponed to a future day In the mean time, pains were taken out of doors to obtain a unanimity, and the voices were generally so clearly in favor of Washington, that the dissentient members were persuaded to withdraw their opposition, and Mr. Washington was nominated, I believe by Mr Thomas Johnson of Maryland, unanimously elected, and the army adopted.

Three •

1776—THE COLONIES PROCLAIM THEIR INDEPENDENCE

As months passed, the colonies and Great Britain moved toward an open, final break with what seemed to be the inevitability of fate. The Continental Congress petitioned the King for the redress of grievances and expressed the hope that harmony would be restored, the stubborn monarch refused even to receive the petition and began hiring German troops—"Hessians"—to strengthen the army An American force invaded Canada, took Montreal, and held Quebec under siege for several months. Thomas Paine won thousands of converts to the idea of independence through his vigorous pamphlet, Common Sense. *The colonies adopted constitutions and began to govern themselves By the early summer of 1776 the Congress was ready to act. On June 7 Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered a resolution that the united colonies "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." Action on the resolution was deferred until July 1, but meanwhile a committee consisting of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman was charged with preparing a Declaration of Independence. The draft, largely Jefferson's work, was presented to Congress on June 28 and adopted by it on July 4. Independence, however, was declared on July 2, which would be our national holiday if posterity had regard for historical accuracy.*

Christopher Marshall, Pennsylvania delegate, recorded the stirring events of early July in his "Remembrancer," or diary.

William Duane, Ed, *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall* (Albany, 1877), 81–83.

July 2, 1776 . . . Past seven, to [the] Committee Room at Philosophical [Hall]; none been there; went to John Lynn's, stayed till near eight; then returned; broke up past ten At this meeting, six besides myself, were appointed a Committee of Secrecy to examine all inimical and suspected persons that come to their knowledge . . . This day, the Continental Congress declared the United States Free and Independent States . . .

July 6 . . . Near eight, went to committee, Philosophical Hall, where eight members were voted for and carried by majority, some of whom I have no objection to, but would not rise, nor agree to support at the election some others. Agreed that the Declaration of Independence be declared at the State House next Second Day At same time, the King's arms there are to be taken down by nine Associators, here appointed, who are to convey it to a pile of casks erected upon the commons, for the purpose of a bonfire, and the arms placed on the top. . . .

July 8. Warm sunshine morning. At eleven, went and met [the] Committee of Inspection at Philosophical Hall, went from there in a body to the lodge; joined the Committee of Safety (as called); went in a body to [the] State House Yard, where, in the presence of a great concourse of people, the Declaration of Independence was read by John Nixon. The company declared their approbation by three repeated huzzas The King's Arms were taken down in the Court Room, State House same time. From there, some of us went to B. Armitage's tavern; stayed till one. I went and dined at Paul Fooks's, lay down there after dinner till five. Then he and the French Engineer went with me on the commons, where the same was proclaimed at each of the five Battalions. . . . Fine starlight, pleasant evening. There were bonfires, ringing bells, with other great demonstrations of joy upon the unanimity and agreement of the declaration.

Four •

1776—"AND ALL THE PEOPLE SHALL SAY AMEN"

Throughout the colonies, the Declaration of Independence was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Mrs. John Adams wrote her husband of the rejoicing in Boston. Similar celebrations took place everywhere.

Boston, 21 July, 1776.

Last Thursday, after hearing a very good sermon, I went with the multitude into King Street to hear the Proclamation for Independence read and proclaimed. Some field-pieces with the train were brought there. The troops appeared under arms, and all the inhabitants assembled there (the small-pox prevented many thousands from the country), when Colonel Crafts read from the balcony of the State House the proclamation. Great attention was given to every word. As soon as he ended, the cry from the balcony was, "God our American States," and then three cheers wh rent the air. The bells rang, the privateers fired, forts and batteries, the cannon were discharged, platoons followed, and every face appeared joyful. Bowdoin then gave a sentiment, "Stability and petuity to American independence." After dinner King's Arms were taken down from the State H and every vestige of him from every place in appeared, and burnt in King Street. Thus ends authority in this State. And all the people shall Amen.

Charles Francis Adams, Ed., *Familiar Letters of John* and His Wife, *Abigail Adams, During the Revolution* (York, 1876), 204.

CHAPTER SIX

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

1776 – 1782



One •

1776—ALEXANDER GRAYDON HAS RECRUITING TROUBLES

Shouting for independence was one thing; fighting for it another A young Philadelphian, Alexander Graydon, discovered this disconcerting fact when he set out to raise a company of volunteers in spring, 1776.

The object now was to raise my company, and as the streets of the city had been pretty well swept by the preceding and contemporary levies, it was necessary to have recourse to the country. My recruiting party was therefore sent out in various directions; and each of my officers as well as myself, exerted himself in the business Among the many unpleasant peculiarities of the American service, it was not the least that the drudgery, which in old military establishments belong to sergeants and corporals, here devolved on the commissioned officers; and that the whole business of recruiting, drilling, &c , required their unremitted personal attention. This was more emphatically the case in recruiting; *since* the common opinion was, that the men and the officers were never to be separated, and hence, to see the persons who were to command them, and above all, the captain, was deemed of vast importance *by* those inclining to enlist: for this reason I found it necessary, in common with my brother officers, to put my feelings most cruelly to the rack; and in an excursion I once

Alexander Graydon, *Memoirs of His Own Time with* ... *of the Men and Events of the Revol*... niscences ... delphia, 1846), 133–35

made to Frankford, they were tried to the utmost. A number of fellows at the tavern, at which my party rendezvoused, indicated a desire to enlist, but although they drank freely of our liquor, they still held off. I soon perceived that the object was to amuse themselves at our expense, and if there might be one or two among them really disposed to engage, the others would prevent them. One fellow in particular, who had made the greatest show of taking the bounty, presuming on the weakness of our party, consisting only of a drummer, corporal, my second lieutenant and myself, began to grow insolent, and manifested an intention to begin a quarrel, in the issue of which, he no doubt calculated on giving us a drubbing The disgrace of such a circumstance, presented itself to my mind in colours the most dismal, and I resolved, that if a scuffle should be unavoidable, it should, at least, be as serious as the hangers which my lieutenant and myself carried by our sides, could make it. Our endeavour, however, was to guard against a contest; but the moderation we testified, was attributed to fear. At length the arrogance of the principal ruffian, rose to such a height, that he squared himself for battle and advanced towards me in an attitude of defiance. I put him by, with an admonition to be quiet, though with a secret determination, that, if he repeated the insult to begin the war, whatever might be the consequence. The occasion was soon presented; when taking excellent aim, I struck him with my utmost force between the eyes and sent him staggering to the other end of the room. Then instantly drawing our hangers, and receiving the manful co-operation of the corporal and drummer, we were fortunate enough to put a stop to any farther hostilities. It was some time before the fellow I had struck, recovered from the blow, but when he did, he was quite an altered man. He was as submissive as could be wished, begging my pardon for what he had done, and although he would not enlist, he hired himself to me for a few weeks as a fifer, in which capacity he had acted in the militia; and during the time he was in this employ, he bore about the effects of his insolence, in a pair of black eyes. This incident would be little worthy of relating, did it not

serve in some degree to correct the error of those who seem to conceive the year 1776 to have been a season of almost universal patriotic enthusiasm. It was far from prevalent *in my opinion*, among the lower ranks of the *people, at least* in Pennsylvania. At all times, indeed, licentious, levelling principles are much to the general taste, and were of course popular with us, but the true merits of the contest, were little understood or regarded. The opposition to the claims of Britain originated with the better sort: it was truly aristocratic in its commencement, and as the oppression to be apprehended, had not been *felt, no grounds existed for general enthusiasm*. The cause of liberty, it is true, was fashionable, and there were great preparations to fight for it; but a zeal proportioned to the magnitude of the question, was only to be looked for in the minds of those sagacious politicians, who inferred effects from causes, and who, as Mr. Burke expresses it, "snuffed the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze."

Two ·

1776—WASHINGTON EVACUATES NEW YORK

The Revolutionary troops had behaved valorously at Concord and Lexington, Ticonderoga and Bunker Hill. But when Washington, in the middle of September, 1776, decided to withdraw from New York rather than run the risk of being trapped on lower Manhattan Island—the British held Staten Island and *Brooklyn*—many of his men fought so badly that the General lost his always-touchy temper.

Lt. Col. George Weedon of the First Virginia Regi-

Original letter in the Weedon Papers, Chicago Society

ment described the battle—and Washington's unbounded disgust—in a letter to John Page, President of the Virginia Council of Public Safety.

Head Quarters at Moris's Heights
10 miles above York
Sepr. 20th 1776

My dear Sir,

Since my last we have evacuated N. York, a step that was found absolutely necessary for the preservation of the Army, as we held it on very precarious Terms, and might have been attended with the worst of consequences at this time, the General not having an Army that he could depend upon, and so circumstanced from the situation of the place, that a safe retreat could not be made had the enemy have landed above us, which was easy to effect. We should have got off all the stores & Troops on Sunday night, but believe the Enemy suspected a thing of the sort, and early on Sunday morning sent several Frigates up the East & North Rivers, and landed two considerable Armies near the same time on the shores of each Genl Putnam commanded in York, and had time to bring the troops out whilst our Batteries amused the shipping. Two Brigades of Northern Troops were to oppose their landing, and engage them. They run off without firing a gun, tho' Genl Washington was himself present, and [in spite of] all he, his Aide-de-Camps, & other Genl. Officers could do, they were not to be rally'd till they *had got some miles The General was so exasperated* that he struck several officers in their flight, three times dashed his hat on the ground, and at last exclaimed "Good God, have I got such troops as those!" It was with difficulty his friends could get him to quit the field, so great was his emotions. He himself got off safe, and all the Troops as you may think. Nothing was left in York but about 700 Barrels of flour & some old cannon of little consequence.

The Enemy, elated at this piece of success, formed next morning *and advanced in three columns.* A disposition was made at this place to check them, in which your 3d Virginia Regiment made part. I was ordered to

defend a pass at a valley that divides those heights from N York and the country below. The brave Major Lietch (?) was detached with the 3 Rifle companies commanded by Captains Thornton, West, and Ashby to flank the Enemy that was then making for it I soon got engaged, as did the Major & his party. How we behaved it does not become me to say Let it suffice to tell you that we had the General's thanks in publick Orders for our conduct. We were reinforced by some Maryland Troops & others who behaved well. The poor Major received three Balls through his body before he quitted the field, and so lucky are their direction that I am in hopes he will do well. At present he is in a fair way I lost with his party and my own, three killed & 12 wounded The other cores [corps] that joined us, lost in proportion The enemies loss was at first supposed to be 97 but a Deserter that came in today makes them to have lost between 2 & 3 hundred. . . . Upon the whole they got cursedly thrashed, and have since declared they did not think the Virginians had get-up

We are now very near neighbours, and view each other every hour in the day The two armies lay within two miles of each other and a general action is every hour expected . . .

Believe me to be my Dear Sir
Yrs affectionately
G WEEDON

Three ·

1776—WASHINGTON CROSSES THE DELAWARE AND TAKES TRENTON

But the Revolutionary Army was made of good material. The men needed discipline, arms, and an understanding of the fact that war is a grim

Original letter in the Weedon Papers, Chicago Society

and not a summer holiday. These requisites they soon acquired. When Washington decided to surprise the Hessian garrison at Trenton, New Jersey, seasoned veterans could not have behaved better. The same Colonel Weedon who reported disgraceful conduct in the evacuation of New York was high in his praise of the men who braved the icy Delaware on Christmas night.

NEW TOWN Decr. 29th 1776

MY DEAR SIR,

I can now sit down with some satisfaction to write to my Countrymen, having spent my Xmas this far, with more real enjoyment than I ever did one, and the frolick not yet over as another Expedition into the Jerseys is this night set on foot. You will have seen the event of that on the 26th before this reaches you, but I know you want the particulars, & as I am at present unfit for duty, shall endeavour to give them to you.

Know then, that on the 25th part of our Army was ordered to cross the Delaware, at a place call'd McConkeys Ferry, the embarcation to begin after dark. Agreeable to order, the Troops assembld. It took us till three in the morning to finnish our crossing. We had then 12 miles to Trenton, where three Regiments of Hessians lay, viz. Cols. Lassburgs, Kniphausens, & Ralls. The weather set in extremely bad, however it did not check the ardour of our Troops The noble example set by our General made all other difficulties & hardships vannish. We got up by Eight next morning, and in so private a manner that the Enemy never suspected our approach till their outguards were attack'd by our advance, commanded by Captain Wm Washington of the 3d Regt of Virginia, who drove all before him till he, and his Lt. Jas Monroe got wounds The main body of our Troops soon after entered the Town in two different places as was first directed. The Enemy were put into confusion, and tho' they made several attempts to form, never could Our men entered the Town in a trot, & pursued so close that in less than one hour we made ourselves masters of all their Field pcs (six in number), Baggage &c, and 919 Prisoners, amongst them Thirty Officers, none of higher rank than

Cols The whole loss on our side I believe sustained, which was not more than three privts killed & these two brave officers wounded. The Enemies loss, killd, was also inconsiderable, not more than 30 or 40, their wounded not so many, which is something extraordinary.

I was honored with his Excellencies Orders to take charge of the prisoners with my Regt and that night returned to our old Quarters. The behaviour of our people in general, far exceeded anything I ever saw. It's worth remarking that not one officer or privt was known that day to turn his back. Should our prest Expedition prove equally successful, we shall have these Robbers that have so long lived upon the fat of the Jersey Farms, once more over the Hudsons river As a particular Acct. of Prisoners, Arms, &c, will be published shant trouble you with them, but conclude in wishing you the Compliments of the season with respects to all friends.

Am Dr. Sir
Your Most Obt Servt.
G WEEDON

Four •

1777—BURGOYNE SURRENDERS AT SARATOGA

The year 1776 slipped into 1777. British and American troops clashed in battles that went one way or another—Princeton, Oriskany, Bennington, Brandywine—but never so decisively as to eliminate the defeated side as a military force. Then, in the fall, a major movement came to its climax. The British General

"The Journal of Lieutenant William Digby," in J
ney Baxter, Ed , The British Invasion from
1887), 317–21.

Burgoyne, who had started from Canada with a strong force to join Clinton at Albany, found himself in trouble. Clinton had not stirred from New York, Burgoyne's supplies were low, his army shrinking daily. On September 19, 1777, at Freeman's Farm in eastern New York, he suffered a costly repulse when he attacked a well placed American force. Three weeks later Benedict Arnold led a smashing assault at Bemis Heights. Burgoyne retreated to Saratoga, took stock, decided that his situation was helpless, and asked for terms.

Lieutenant William Digby of the 53rd or Shropshire Regiment of Foot describes the surrender.

Gen Burgoyne desired a meeting of all the officers early that morning [October 17], at which he entered into a detail of his manner of acting since he had the honour of commanding the army; but he was too full to speak; heaven only could tell his feelings at the time. He dwelled much on his orders to make the wished for junction with General Clinton, and as to how his proceedings had turned out, we must (he said), be as good judges as himself. He then read over the Articles of Convention, and informed us the terms were even easier than we could have expected from our situation, and concluded with assuring us, he would never have accepted any terms, had we provisions enough, or the least hopes of our extricating ourselves any other way. About 10 o'clock, we marched out, according to treaty, with drums beating & the honours of war, but the drums seemed to have lost their former inspiriting sounds, and though we beat the Grenadiers march, which not long before was so animating, yet then it seemed by its last feeble effort, as if almost ashamed to be heard on such an occasion. As to my own feelings, I cannot express them. Tears (though unmanly) forced their way, and if alone, I should have burst to give myself vent. I shall never forget the appearance of their troops on our marching past them; a dead silence universally reigned through their numerous columns, and even then, they seemed struck with our situation and dare scarce lift up their eyes to view British Troops in such a situation. I must say their decent behaviour during the time, (to us so greatly fallen) meritted the

utmost approbation and praise. The meeting between Burgoyne and Gates was well worth seeing He paid Burgoyne about as much respect as if he was the conqueror, indeed, his noble air, tho prisoner, seemed to command attention and respect from every person A party of Light dragoons were ordered as his guard, rather to protect his person from insults than any other cause. Thus ended all our hopes of victory, honour, glory &c &c, &c.

Five ·
1777-78—FIRE CAKE AND WATER AT VALLEY FORGE

In late September, 1777, the British defeated Washington's army at Brandywine Creek, the occupied Philadelphia The American army struck the enemy at Germantown, ten miles north of the city, on October 4, but was again defeated Washington drew off his troops to the west, and a few weeks later went into winter quarters at Valley Forge The site was admirably chosen for defensive purposes, and its high ground should have made it well drained and healthful. But winter came early, and both the commissary department and the transport service broke down The men went hungry, shivered in ragged uniforms, tossed with fevers, and died by the hundreds Surgeon Albigence Waldo of the Connecticut Line described the sufferings of the men during the first weeks of winter. After his departure, conditions became even worse Only determination and patriotism kept the army intact.

December 16 [1777]—Cold Rainy Day, Baggage ordered over the Gulph of our Division, which were to

"Diary of Surgeon Albigence Waldo, of the Line," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Vol. XXI, No. 3, 299-322, passim.

march at Ten, but the baggage was order'd back and for the first time since we have been here the Tents were pitch'd, to keep the men more comfortable. Good morning Brother Soldier (says one to another) how are you? All wet I thank'e, hope you are so (says the other). The Enemy have been at Chestnut Hill Opposite to us near our last encampment the other side Schuylkill, made some Ravages, kill'd two of our Horsemen, taken some prisoners. We have done the like by them. . . .

December 18—Rank & Precedence make a good deal of disturbance & confusion in the American Army. The Army are poorly supplied with Provision, occasioned it is said by the Neglect of the Commissary of Purchases. Much talk among Officers about discharges. Money has become of too little consequence. The Congress have not made their Commissions valuable Enough. Heaven avert the bad consequences of these things! . . .

December 21—[Valley Forge] Preparations made for hutts Provisions Scarce. . . Heartily wish myself at home, my Skin & eyes are almost spoil'd with continual smoke. A general cry thro' the Camp this Evening among the Soldiers, "No Meat! No Meat!" Immitating the noise of Crows & Owls, also, made a part of the confused Musick.

What have you for your Dinners Boys? "Nothing but Fire Cake & Water, Sir." At night, "Gentlemen the Supper is ready." What is your Supper Lads? "Fire Cake & Water, Sir." Very poor beef has been drawn in our Camp the greater part of this season. A Butcher bringing a Quarter of this kind of Beef into Camp one day who had white Buttons on the knees of his breeches, a Soldier cries out—"There, there Tom is some more of your fat Beef, by my soul I can see the Butcher's breeches buttons through it."

December 22—Lay excessive Cold & uncomfortable last Night—my eyes are started out from their Orbits like a Rabbit's eyes, occasion'd by a great Cold & Smoke.

What have you got for Breakfast, Lads? "Fire Cake & Water, Sir." The Lord send that our Commissary of Purchases may live on Fire Cake & Water, 'till their glutted Gutts are turned to Pasteboard. . . .

December 24—. . . Hutts go on Slowly—Cold & Smoke make us fret . . . I don't know of any thing that vexes a man's Soul more than hot smoke continually blowing into his Eyes, & when he attempts to avoid it, is met by a cold and piercing Wind.

December 25, Christmas.—We are still in Tents—when we ought to be in huts—the poor Sick, suffer much in Tents this cold Weather. But we now treat them differently from what they used to be at home, under the inspection of Old Women and Doct. Bolus Linctus. We give them Mutton & Grogg and a Capital Medicine once in a While, to start the disease from its foundation at once We avoid Piddling Pills, Bolus's Linctus's Cordials and all such insignificant matters whose powers are Only render'd important by causing the Patient to vomit up his money instead of his disease . . .

December 28.—Building our Hutts.

December 29—Continued the Work Snow'd all day pretty briskly—The party of the 22d return'd—lost 18 men who were taken prisoners by being decoyed by the Enemies Light Horse who brought up the Rear, as they Repass'd the Schuylkill to the City Our party took 13 or 14 of their Horsemen The Enemy came out to plunder—& have strip'd the Town of Derby of even all its Household furniture. Our party were several times mixed with the Enemy's horse—not knowing them from our Connecticut Light Horse—their Cloaks being alike.

So much talk about discharges among the Officers—& so many are discharged—his Excellency lately expressed his fears of being left Alone with the Soldiers only. Strange that our Country will not exert themselves for his support, and save so good—so great a Man from entertaining the least anxious doubt of their Virtue and perseverance in supporting a Cause of such unparallel'd importance!! . . .

December 31.—We got some Spirits and finish'd the Year with a good Drink & thankfull hearts in our new Hutt, which stands on an Eminence that overlooks the Brigade, & in sight of the Front Line. . . .

January 6, 1778—We have got our Hutts to be ·

comfortable, and feel ourselves happy in them—I only want my family and I should be as happy here as anywhere, except in the Article of food, which is sometimes pretty scanty. . . .

January 8—Unexpectedly got a Furlow. Set out for home. . . .

Six •

1778—GEORGE ROGERS CLARK CAPTURES KASKASKIA

In Pennsylvania, Washington began to put new life into the men who had come through Valley Forge, while the Baron von Steuben, Prussian drillmaster, gave them discipline and morale. At the end of June, when the Continental Army met the British retiring from Philadelphia, it gave a good account of itself in the Battle of Monmouth. Meanwhile, nearly a thousand miles to the west, a young frontiersman who held a colonel's commission from Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, came to the climax of a daring adventure.

In the spring of 1778 George Rogers Clark enlisted 175 men at Louisville, Kentucky Their objective, known only to Clark, was the capture of Kaskaskia, a British outpost in southwestern Illinois on the Kaskaskia River near its juncture with the Mississippi. The inhabitants of the town, which had been under French rule until 1765, could be counted on to be friendly; even the commandant was a Frenchman in the British service.

On June 28, 1778, Clark's force struck out from Fort Massac, on the north bank of the Ohio River where the Illinois city of Metropolis now stands. Six days later

Milo M Quaife, Ed, *The Capture of Old Vincennes: The Original Narratives of George Rogers Clark and of His Opponent Gov Henry Hamilton* (Indianapolis; Bobbs Merrill, 1927), 57–58.

the men looked down from the hills on the unsuspecting village. Clark himself tells the story of its capture.

On the evening of July fourth we arrived within a few miles of the town, where we threw out scouts in advance and lay until nearly dark. We then resumed our march and took possession of a house on the bank of the Kaskaskia River, about three-quarters of a mile above the town, occupied by a large family. We learned from the inmates that the people had been under arms a few days before but had concluded the alarm to be groundless and at present all was quiet, and that there was a large number of men in town, although the Indians were for the most part absent. We obtained from the man boats enough to convey us across the river, where I formed my force in three divisions. I felt confident the inhabitants could not now obtain knowledge of our approach in time to enable them to make any resistance. My object was now to get possession of the place with as little confusion as possible, but to have it if necessary at the loss of the whole town. I did not entirely credit the information given us at the house, as the man seemed to contradict himself, informing us among other things that a noise we heard in the town was caused by the negroes at a dance. I set out for the fort with one division, ordering the other two to proceed to different quarters of the town. If I met with no resistance, at a certain signal a general shout was to be given and a certain part of the town was to be seized immediately, while men from each detachment who were able to talk French were to run through the streets proclaiming what had happened and informing the townsmen to remain in their houses on pain of being shot down.

These arrangements produced the desired effect, and within a very short time we were in complete possession of the place, with every avenue guarded to prevent any one from escaping and giving the alarm to the other villages. Various orders not worth mentioning had been issued for the guidance of the men in the event of opposition. Greater silence, I suppose, never [illegible] among the inhabitants of a town than in [illegible] this juncture, not a person was to be seen or [illegible] be heard from them for some time. [illegible]

troops purposely kept up the greatest possible noise throughout every quarter of the town, while patrols moved around it continually throughout the night, as it was a capital object to intercept any message that might be sent out. In about two hours all the inhabitants were disarmed, and informed that any one who should be taken while attempting to escape from the place would immediately be put to death. Mr. Rochblave was secured, but some time elapsed before he could be got out of his room. I suppose he delayed to tell his wife what disposition to make of his public papers, but a few of which were secured by us Since his chamber was not entered during the night, she had ample opportunity to dispose of them, but how she did it we could never learn.

Seven •

1779—CLARK RETAKES VINCENNES

After the fall of Kaskaskia the other villages of the Illinois Country—Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Vincennes—quickly proclaimed their allegiance to the Americans. The British, however, had no intention of giving up this vast territory without a struggle. Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton of Detroit led the counter-attack. In December, 1778, at the head of a force of militia and Indians, Hamilton easily took Vincennes.

From Kaskaskia, one hundred and eighty miles to the west, Clark saw the seriousness of the threat. Hamilton was strong enough to retake the entire Illinois Country; with the spring, he would do it. The only chance of the Americans was an attack before the British would be expecting one. On February 6, 1779, Clark, with 130 men—half of them French volunteers—left Kaskaskia.

James Alton James, Ed., George Rogers Clark Papers, *1771-1781* (Springfield, Ill., 1912), 164-68.

Seldom has a military march been made under greater hardships The prairies froze by night, thawed into slippery mud by day. As the men approached the Wabash River they found streams out of their banks, often they marched waist-high in icy water. But on the 23rd of the month Vincennes lay before them. As at Kaskaskia, they had achieved surprise

Again, Clark is the narrator.

23rd Feby. Sett off very early, waded better than three miles on a stretch, our people prodigious, yet they keep up a good heart in hopes of a speedy sight of our enemy At last about two o'clock we came in sight of this long sought town and enemy, all quiet, the spirits of my men seemed to revive. We marched up under cover of a wood called the Warriours Island where we lay concealed untill sunset, several of the inhabitants were out a shooting by which was assur'd they had no intelligence of us yet. I sent out two men to bring in one who came and I sent him to town to inform the inhabitants I was near them ordering all those attached to the King of England to enter the Fort and defend it, those who desired to be friends to keep in their houses. I order'd the march in the first division Capt. Williams, Capt. Worthington's Company and the Cascaskia Volunteers, in the 2nd commanded by Capt. Bowman his own Company and the Cohos Volunteers. At sun down I put the divisions in motion to march in the greatest order and regularity and observe the orders of their officers—above all to be silent—the 5 men we took in the canoes were our guides; we entered the town on the upper part having detached Lt. Bayley and 15 riflemen to attack the Fort and keep up a fire to harrass them until we took possession of the town and they were to remain on that duty untill relieved by another party, the two divisions marched into the town and took possession of the main street, put guards &c without the least molestation. I continued all night sending parties out to annoy the enemy and caused a trench to be thrown up across the main street about 200 yds from the Fort Gate—we had intelligence that C Lamotte and 30 men were sent out about 3 hours for our arrival to reconnoitre, as it seems they had

suspicion of a party being near them. One Maisonville and a party of Indians coming up the Ouabache with 2 prisoners made on the Ohio had discover'd our fires and they arrived here a few hours before us. I order'd out a party immediately to intercept them and took sd Maisonville and one man—they gave us no intelligence worth mentioning.

24th. As soon as daylight appeared the enemy perceived our works and began a very smart fire of small arms at it, but could not bring their cannon to bear on them. About 8 o'clock I sent a flag of truce with a letter desiring Lt Gov. Hamilton in order to save the impending storm that hung over his head immediately to surrender up the Garrison, Fort, Stores &c &c and at his peril not to destroy any one article now in the said Garrison—or to hurt any house &c belonging to the Inhabitants for if he did by Heaven, he might expect no mercy—his answer was Gov H. begs leave to acquaint Col. C. that he and his Garrison were not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects —I then ordered out parties to attack the Fort and the firing began very smartly on both sides One of my men thro' a bravery known but to Americans walking carlesly up the main street was slightly wounded over the left eye but no ways dangerous—About 12 o'clock the firing from the Fort suspended. A Flag coming out I order'd my people to stop firing till further orders. I soon perceived it was Capt. Helm who after salutations inform'd me that the purport of his commission was, that Lt. Gov. Hamilton was willing to surrender up the Fort and Garrison provided Col Clarke would grant him honourable terms and that he beg'd Col. Clarke to come into the Fort to confer with him, first I desired Capt. Helm not to give any intelligence of G. H.'s strength &c he being on his Parole, second my answer to Gov. H was that I should not agree to any other terms than that Lt. Gov. H should immediately surrender at discretion and allowed him half an hour to consider thereof—as to entering the Fort my offrs and men would not allow of it, for it was with difficulty I restrained them from storming the Garrison. I dismissed Capt. Helm, with my answer. At the time allowed Capt. Helm came back with Lieut. Gov. H's second

proposals which were—Lt Govr Hamilton proposes to Col. Clarke a truce for three days, during which time there shall no defensive works be carried on in the Garrison provided Col Clarke shall observe the like cessation on his part—he further proposes that whatever may pass between them two and any person mutually agreed upon to be present shall remain secret untill matters be finally determined. As he wishes that whatever the result of this conference may be—the Honor and credit of each may be considered—so he wishes he may confer with Col. Clarke as soon as may be—as Col. Clarke makes a difficulty of coming into the Fort, Lt Gov. H will speak to him before the Gate.

24 Feby 1779 (sign'd) H. H.

This moment received intelligence that a party of Indians were coming up from the falls with Prisrs or Scalps, which party was sent out by G Hamilton for that purpose, my people were so enraged they immediately intercepted the party which consisted of 8 Indians and a french man of the Garrison. They killed three on the spot and brought 4 in who were tomahawkd in the street oposite the Fort Gate and thrown into the river —the frenchman we shewd mercy as his aged father had behaved so well in my party—I relieved the two poor Prisrs who were French hunters on the Ohio, after which Lt Helm carried my answer thus—Col. Clarks compts to G H and begs leave to inform him that Col. Clark will not agree to any other terms than of G. H. surrendering himself and Garrison prisoners at discretion—if G. H desires a conference with Col. Clarke, he will meet him at the church with Capt Helm.

24 Febry 1779 (signd) G R CLARK

I immediately repaired there to confer with G. Hamilton where I met with him and Capt. Helm. Gov. Hamilton then begd I would consider the situation of both parties that he was willing to surrender the *Garrison* but was in hopes that Col Clark let him do it with Honour—I answered him I been informed that he had 800 men—I have

number but I came to fight that number. G H then replied who could give you this false information? I am Sir (replied I) well acquainted with your strength and force and am able to take your Fort, therefore I will give *no other terms but to submit yourself* and Garrison to my discretion and mercy—he reply'd Sir my men are brave and willing to stand by me to the last, if I can't surrender upon Honble terms I'll fight it out to the last—Answered, Sir this will give my men infinite satisfaction and pleasure for it is their desire. He left me and went a few pays aloof, I told Capt Helm Sir *you are a prisoner on your parole, I desire you to re*-conduct G. H. into the Fort and there remain till I retake you Lt Gov. Hamilton then returned saying, Col. Clarke why will you force me to dishonour myself when you cannot acquire more honour by it—I told him could I look on you Sir as a Gentleman I would do to the utmost of my power, but on you Sir who have *embrued your hands in the blood of our women and children, Honour, my country, everything calls on me alloud* for Vengeance G H I know my character has been staind but not deservedly for I have alwaise endeavour'd to instill Humanity as much as in my power to the Indians whom *the orders of my superiours obliged* me to employ. C. C. Sir I speak no more on this subject My blood glows within my veins to think on the crueltys your Indian parties have committed, therefore repair to your Fort and prepare for battle on which I turned off and the Gov and Ct Helm towards the Fort—when Capt Helm says Gentlemen don't be warm, strive to *save many lives which may be useful to their country* which will unavoidably fall in case you don't agree on which we again conferd—G Hamilton said, is there nothing to be done but fighting—Yes, Sir, I will send you such articles as [I] think proper to allow, if you accept them, well—I will allow you half an hour *to consider on them* on which Ct Helm came with me *to take* them to G.H—*having assembled my officers* I sent the following articles viz..

Ist Lt. Gov. Hamilton engages to deliver up to Col. Clark Fort Sackville as it is at present with all the stores, ammunition, provisions, &c.

2nd The Garrison will deliver themselves up Prisrs of War to march out with their arms accoutrements, Knapsacks &c.

3. The Garrison to be delivered up tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

4th. Three days to be allowed to the Garrison to settle their accounts with the traders of this place and inhabitants.

5. The officers of the Garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage &c.

(signed) Post Vincents 24th Feby 1779 G. R. CLARK.

Within the limitted time Capt Helm returned with the articles signed thus, viz

Agreed to for the following reasons, remoteness from succours, the state and quantity of Provisions &c the unanimity of officers and men on its expediency, the Honble terms allowd and lastly the confidence in a generous Enemy

(signed) H. HAMILTON Lt Gov & Superintendt.

Eight ·

1780—ANDRÉ PAYS FOR ARNOLD'S TREASON

No event of the war shook the Americans more than the treason of Benedict Arnold. This proud, impetuous Connecticut soldier had fought with outstanding bravery at Ticonderoga and Saratoga Then he began to brood over wrongs: the failure of Congress to recognize his services, a court-martial by Pennsylvania authorities for alleged illegal acts while he commanded the American forces in Philadelphia. Moreover, he lived

James Thacher, A Military Journal During the Ameri Revolutionary War from 1775 to 1783 (Boston, · 272–74

extravagantly and needed money. In 1779 he started to sell military information to the British. The following year he obtained command of West Point, the key to the American positions north of New York. Soon he was deep in negotiations to turn that post over to the enemy in return for a large sum of money. At the last minute Major John André, the British officer who had been assigned to deal with Arnold, was captured. The plot was discovered. Arnold, warned in time, escaped to the British lines, but within a week André was tried by a court-martial, convicted of being a spy, and sentenced to be hanged. James Thacher, surgeon in a Massachusetts regiment, watched the young officer meet death.

October 2nd.—Major Andre is no more among the living I have just witnessed his exit. It was a tragical scene of the deepest interest. During his confinement and trial, he exhibited those proud and elevated sensibilities which designate greatness and dignity of mind. Not a murmur or a sigh ever escaped him, and the civilities and attentions bestowed on him were politely acknowledged. Having left a mother and two sisters in England, he was heard to mention them in terms of the tenderest affection, and in his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he recommends them to his particular attention.

The principal guard officer who was constantly in the room with the prisoner, relates that when the hour of his execution was announced to him in the morning, he received it without emotion, and while all present were affected with silent gloom, he retained a firm countenance, with calmness and composure of mind. Observing his servant enter the room in tears, he exclaimed, "leave me till you can show yourself more manly." His breakfast being sent to him from the table of General Washington, which had been done every day of his confinement, he partook of it as usual, and having shaved and dressed himself, he placed his hat on the table, and cheerfully said to the guard officers, "I am ready at any moment, gentlemen, to wait on you." The fatal hour having arrived, a large detachment of troops was paraded, and an immense concourse of people as-

sembled, almost all our general and field officers, excepting his Excellency and his staff, were present on horseback; melancholy and gloom pervaded all ranks, and the scene was affectingly awful I was so near during the solemn march to the fatal spot, as to observe every movement, and participate in every emotion which the melancholy scene was calculated to produce. Major Andre walked from the stone house, in which he had been confined, between two of our subaltern officers, arm in arm, the eyes of the immense multitude were fixed on him, who, rising superior to the fears of death, appeared as if conscious of the dignified deportment which he displayed. He betrayed no want of fortitude, but retained a complacent smile on his countenance, and politely bowed to several gentlemen whom he knew, which was respectfully returned. It was his earnest desire to be shot, as being the mode of death most conformable to the feelings of a military man, and he had indulged the hope that his request would be granted. At the moment, therefore, when suddenly he came in view of the gallows, he involuntarily started backward, and made a pause "Why this emotion, Sir?" said an officer by his side Instantly recovering his composure, he said, "I am reconciled to my death, but I detest the mode." While waiting and standing near the gallows, I observed some degree of trepidation, placing his foot on a stone, and rolling it over and choking in his throat, as if attempting to swallow So soon, however, as he perceived that things were in readiness, he stepped quickly into the wagon, and at this moment he appeared to shrink, but instantly elevating his head with firmness, he said, "It will be but a momentary pang," and taking from his pocket two white handkerchiefs, the provost marshal with one, loosely pinioned his arms, and with the other, the victim, after taking off his hat and stock, bandaged his own eyes with perfect firmness, which melted the hearts, and moistened the cheeks, not only of his servant, but of the throng of spectators. The rope being appended to the gallows, he slipped the noose over his head and adjusted it to his neck, without the assistance of the awkward executioner. Colonel Scammel now informed him that he had an opportunity to speak, if i desired it, he raised the handkerchief from his eyes

said, "I pray you to bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man." The wagon being now removed from under him, he was suspended and instantly expired; it proved indeed "but a momentary pang." He was dressed in his royal regimentals and boots, and his remains, in the same dress, were placed in an ordinary coffin, and interred at the foot of the gallows; and the spot was consecrated by the tears of thousands. Thus died in the bloom of life, the accomplished Major Andre, the pride of the royal army, and the valued friend of Sir Henry Clinton.

Nine ·

1779—BONHOMME RICHARD DEFEATS THE SERAPIS

Soon after the Continental Congress took over the patriot army it set about creating a navy. With their slender resources the Americans could never hope to overthrow Great Britain as a sea power, but with luck, valor, and skill they could harrass her merchantmen and now and then corner a man-of-war. That is what happened on September 23, 1779, when John Paul Jones, in the BONHOMME RICHARD, *sighted the British* SERAPIS *conveying cargo vessels off the east coast of England. The* BONHOMME RICHARD *was an ancient, unseaworthy, converted merchantman, but she mounted forty-two guns, and her commander knew no fear.*

Nathaniel Fanning, captain of the maintop in the RICHARD, *describes one of the most memorable of American naval victories.*

I shall now proceed to give a circumstantial account

John S. Barnes, Ed., *Fanning's Narrative, Being the Memoirs of Nathaniel Fanning . . . 1778–1783* (New York, 1912), 38–48

of this famous BATTLE, fought on the night of the 22d day of September, 1779, between the GOOD MAN RICHARD, an American ship of war commanded by John Paul Jones, and the SERAPIS, an English ship of war, commanded by Captain Parsons, off Flamborough Head, upon the German Ocean. . . .

The two ships were *nearly within hail of each other*, when captain Jones ordered the yards slung with chains, and our courses hauled up. By this time the Serapis had tacked ship, and bore down to engage us; and at quarter past 8, just as the moon was rising with majestic appearance, *the weather being clear*, the *surface* of the great deep perfectly smooth, even as in a mill pond, the enemy hailed thus· "What ship is that?" (in true bombastic English stile, it being hoarse and hardly intelligible.) The answer from our ship was, "Come a little nearer, and I will tell you." The next question was, by the enemy, in a contemptuous manner, "What are you laden with?" The answer returned was, if my recollection does not deceive me, "Round, grape, and double-headed shot." And instantly, the Serapis poured her range of upper and quarter-deck guns into us, as she did not shew her lower-deck guns till about ten minutes after the action commenced The reason of this, I could not learn but suppose they intended to have taken us without the aid of their lower-deck guns We returned the enemies fire, and thus the battle began At this first fire, three of our starboard lower-deck guns burst, and killed the most of the men *stationed at them* As soon as captain Jones heard of this circumstance, he gave *orders not to* fire the other three eighteen pounders mounted upon that deck, but that the men stationed to them, should abandon them Soon after this we perceived the enemy, by their lanthorns, *busy in running* out their guns between decks, which convinced us the Serapis was a two *decker, and* more than our match. She had by this time got under our stern, which we could not prevent And now she raked us with whole broadsides, and showers of musketry *Several of her* eighteen pound shot having gone through and through, our ship, *on board* of which, she made a dreadful h.. among our crew The wind was now very light, and

ship not under proper command, and the Serapis outsailing us by *two feet to one*; which advantage the enemy discovered, and improved it, by keeping under our stern, and raking us fore and aft, till at length the poor French colonel, who was stationed upon the poop, finding almost all his men slain, quit that station with his surviving men, and retired upon the quarter-deck. All this time our tops kept up an incessant and well-directed fire into the enemies' tops which did great execution. The *Serapis* continued to take a position, either under our stern, or athwart our bow; gauled us in such a manner that our men fell in all parts of the ship by scores At this juncture, it became necessary on the part of our commander, to give some orders to extricate us from this scene of bloody carnage; for, had it lasted one half an hour longer, in all human probability the enemy would have slain nearly all our officers and men; consequently we should have been compelled to strike our colours and yield to superior force. Accordingly, captain Jones ordered the sailing master, a *true blooded yankee*, whose name was Stacy, to lay the enemies' ship on board, and as the Serapis soon after passed across our fore foot, our helm was put hard aweather, the main and mizzen topsails, then braced aback, were filled away, a fresh flaw of wind swelling them at that instant, which shot our ship quick ahead, and she ran her jib boom between the enemies star-board mizzen shrouds and mizzen vang. Jones at the same time cried out, "Well done, my brave lads, we have got her now; throw on board the grappling irons, and stand by for boarding" which was done, and the enemy soon cut away the chains, which were affixed to the grappling-irons; more were thrown on board, and often repeated. And as we now hauled the enemies' ship snug along side of ours, with the tailings to our grappling-irons, her jib-stay was cut away aloft and fell upon our ship's poop, where Jones was at the time, and where he assisted Mr. Stacy in making fast the end of the enemies' jib-stay to our mizzenmast. The former here checked the latter for swearing, by saying, "Mr. Stacy, it is no time for swearing now, you may by the next moment be in eternity; but let us do our duty." A strong current was now set-

ting in towards Scarborough, the wind ceased to blow, and the sea became as smooth as glass By this time, the enemy finding that they could not easily extricate themselves from us let go one of their anchors, expecting that if they could cut us adrift, the current would set us away out of their reach, at least for some time. The action had now lasted about forty minutes, and the fire from our tops having been kept up without intermission, with musketry, blunderbusses, cowhorns, swivels, and pistols, directed into their tops, that these last at this time, became silent, except one man in her foretop, who would once in a while peep out from behind the head of the enemies' foremast and fire into our tops As soon as I perceived this fellow, I ordered the marines in the main-top to reserve their next fire, and the moment they got sight of him to level their pieces at him and fire; which they did, and we soon saw this skulking tar, or marine, fall out of the top upon the enemies' fore-castle. Our ensign-staff was shot away, and both that and the thirteen stripes fell into the sea. . . .[1]

About this time the enemy's light sails, which were filled onto the Serapis's cranes over her quarter-deck sails caught fire, this communicated itself to her rigging and from thence to ours; thus were both ships on fire at one and the same time; therefore the firing on both sides ceased till it was extinguished by the contending parties, after which the action was renewed again. By this time, the top-men in our tops had taken possession of the enemy's tops, which was done by reason of the Serapis's yards being locked together with ours, that we could with ease go from our main top into the enemy's fore top, and so on from our fore top into the Serapis's main top. Having knowledge of this, we transported from our own into the enemy's tops, stink pots, flasks, hand grenadoes, &c which we threw in among the enemy whenever they made their appearance. The battle had now continued about three hours, and as we, in fact, had possession of the Serapis's top, which commanded her

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[1] John Paul Jones, in this action, was the first American commander to fly the Stars and Stripes in approximately the flag's present form.

quarter-deck, upper gun-deck and forecastle, we were well assured that the enemy could not hold out much longer, and were momentanly expecting that they would strike to us, when the following farcical piece was acted on board our ship.

It seems that a report was at this time, circulated among our crew between decks, and was credited among them, that captain Jones and all his principal officers were slain, the gunners were now the commanders of our ship, that the ship had four or five feet of water in her hold, and that she was then sinking they therefore advised the gunner to go upon deck, together with the carpenter, and master at arms, and beg of the enemy quarters, in order, as they said, to save their lives. These three men being thus delegated, mounted the quarter-deck, and bawled out as loud as they could, "Quarters, quarters, for God's sake, quarters! our ship is sinking!" and immediately got upon the ship's poop with a view of hauling down our colours. Hearing this in the top, I told my men that the enemy had struck and was crying out for quarters, for I actually thought that the voices of these men sounded as if on board of the enemy, but in this I was soon undeceived The three poltroons, finding the ensign, and ensign-staff gone, they proceeded upon the quarter-deck, and were in the act of hauling down our pendant, still bawling for "quarters!" when I heard our commodore say, in a loud voice, "what d——d rascals are them—shoot them—kill them!" He was upon the forecastle when these fellows first made their appearance upon the quarter-deck where he had just discharged his pistols at some of the enemy. The carpenter, and the master-at-arms, hearing Jones's voice, sculked below, and the gunner was attempting to do the same, when Jones threw both of his pistols at his head, one of which struck him in the head, fractured his scull, and knocked him down, at the foot of the gangway ladder, where he lay till the battle was over. Both ships now took fire again; and on board of our ship it communicated to, and set our main top on fire, which threw us into the greatest consternation imaginable for some time, and it was not without some exertions and difficulty that it was overcome. The water which we had

in a tub, *in the fore* part on the top, was expended without extinguishing the fire. We next had recourse to our clothes, by pulling off our coats and jackets, and then *throwing them* upon the fire, and stamping upon them, which *in a* short time, smothered it. Both crews were also *now*, as before, busily employed in stopping the *progress of the* flames, and the firing on both sides ceased. The enemy now demanded of us if we had struck, as they had heard the three poltroons halloo for quarters. "If you have," said they, "why don't *you haul* down your pendant"; as they saw our ensign was *gone.* "Ay, ay," said Jones, "We'll do that when we can fight *no longer, but we shall see yours come down the first;* for you must know, that Yankees do not haul down their colours till they are fairly beaten." The combat *now recommenced again* with *more fury if possible than* before, on the part of both, and continued for a few minutes, when the cry of fire was again heard on board of both ships The firing ceased, and both *crews were* once more employed in extinguishing it, which was soon effected, when the battle was renewed again with redoubled vigour, with what cannon we could manage: hand grenados, stink pots, &c., but principally, towards the closing scene, with lances and boarding pikes. . . .

At thirty-five minutes past 12 at night, a single hand grenado having been thrown by one of our men out of the main top of the enemy, . . . it took a direction and fell between their decks, where it communicated to a quantity of loose powder scattered about the enemy's cannon; and the hand-grenado bursting at the same time, made a dreadful explosion, and blew up about twenty of the enemy. This closed the scene, and the enemy now in their turn, (notwithstanding the gasconading of capt. Parsons) bawled out "Quarters, quarters, quarters, for God's sake!" It was, however, some time before the enemy's colours were struck. The captain of the Serapis gave repeated orders for one of his crew to ascend the quarter-deck and haul down the English flag, but no one would stir to do it They told the Captain they were afraid of our rifle-men, believing that all men who were seen with muskets were *of that description.* The captain of the Serapis therefore

quarter-deck, and hauled down the very flag which he had nailed to the flag-staff a little before the commencement of the battle; and which flag he had at that time, in the presence of his principal officers, swore he never would strike to that infamous pirate J. P. Jones. The enemy's flag being struck, captain Jones ordered Richard Dale, his first lieutenant, to select out of our crew a number of men, and take possession of the prize, which was immediately put in execution. Several of our men, (I believe three) were killed by the English on board of the Serapis after she had struck to us, for which they afterwards apologized, by saying, that the men who were guilty of this breach of honour, did not know at the time, that their own ship had struck her colours. Thus ended this ever memorable battle, after a continuance of a few minutes over four hours. The officers, headed by the captain of the Serapis, now came on board of our ship; the latter, (captain Parsons) enquired for captain Jones, to whom he was introduced by Mr Mase, our purser. They met, and the former accosted the latter, in presenting his sword, in this manner: "It is with the greatest reluctance that I am now obliged to resign you this, for it is painful to me, more particularly at this time, when compelled to deliver up my sword to a man, who may be said to fight *with a halter around his neck!*" Jones, after receiving his sword, made this reply: "Sir, you have fought like a hero, and I make no doubt but your sovereign will reward you in a most ample manner for it."

Ten.

1782—ABOARD THE JERSEY PRISON SHIP

The real naval strength of the Americans during the Revolution lay not in the tiny regular navy but in the privateers. These armed vessels, owned and officered by private persons but operated under the authority of one of the states or the Continental Congress, captured 600 British ships, including sixteen men-of-war, before hostilities ended.

Yet the service was a hazardous one, and often as not the venturesome seaman ended up in a British prison ship. The worst of these floating dungeons was the JERSEY, *a dismantled man-of-war moored in New York harbor. The horrors she held, Thomas Dring discovered, had to be experienced to be believed.*

In the month of May, 1782, I sailed from Providence, Rhode Island, as Master's-mate, on board a privateer called the Chance. This was a new vessel, on her first cruise. . . . She was commanded by Captain Daniel Aborn, mounted twelve six-pound cannon, and sailed with a complement of about sixty-five men. . . .

Our cruise was but a short one; for in a few days after sailing, we were captured by the British ship-of-war *Belisarius*, Captain Graves, of twenty-six guns. We were captured in the night; and our crew, having been conveyed on board the enemy's ship, were put in irons the next morning. . . . The Belisarius soon made her way for New York. . . .

The ship dropped her anchor abreast of the city, and signals were immediately made that she had prisoners on board. Soon after, two large gondolas or boats came

Thomas Dring, *Recollections of the Jersey Prison Ship* ... dence, 1829), 23-27, 33-36, 48-50.

alongside, in one of which was seated the notorious David Sproat, the Commissary of Prisoners. This man was an American refugee, universally detested for the cruelty of his conduct, and the insolence of his manners.

We were then called on deck, and having been released from our irons, were ordered into the boats. This being accomplished, we put off from the ship, under a guard of marines, and proceeded towards our much dreaded place of confinement, which was not then in sight. As we passed along the Long Island shore, against the tide, our progress was very slow. The prisoners were ordered by Sproat to apply themselves to the oars; but not feeling any particular anxiety to expedite our progress, we declined obeying the command. His only reply was, "I'll soon fix you, my lads."

We at length doubled a point, and came in view of . . . the black hulk of the *Old Jersey*, with her satellites, the three Hospital-ships; to which Sproat pointed, in an exulting manner, and said· "There, Rebels, there is the cage for you." Oh! how I wished to be standing alone with that inhuman wretch upon the green turf at that moment!

As he spoke, my eye was instantly turned from the dreaded hulk; but a single glance had shown us a multitude of human beings moving upon her upper deck. . . .

It was then nearly sunset, and before we were alongside, every man, except the sentinels on the gangway, had disappeared. Previous to their being sent below, some of the prisoners, seeing us approaching, waved their hats, as if they would say, "Approach us not," and we soon found fearful reason for the warning. . . .

After passing the weary and tedious night . . . I was permitted to ascend to the upper deck. . . I found myself surrounded by a motley crew of wretches, with tattered garments and pallid visages, who had hurried from below for the luxury of a little fresh air. . . .

In the wretched groups around me, I saw but too faithful a picture of our own almost certain fate; and found that all which we had been taught to fear of this terrible place of abode was more than realized.

During the night, in addition to my other sufferings,

I had been tormented with what I supposed to be vermin; and on coming upon deck, I found that a black silk handkerchief, which I wore around my neck, was completely spotted with them. Although this had often been mentioned as one of the miseries of the place, yet as I had never before been in a situation to witness any thing of the kind, the sight made me shudder; as I knew, at once, that so long as I should remain on board, these loathsome creatures would be my constant companions and unceasing tormentors.

The next disgusting object which met my sight was a man suffering with the small-pox; and in a few minutes I found myself surrounded by many others laboring under the same disease, in every stage of its progress.

As I had never had the small-pox, it became necessary that I should be inoculated; and there being no proper person on board to perform the operation, I concluded to act as my own physician. On looking about me, I soon found a man in the proper stage of the disease, and desired him to favor me with some of the matter for the purpose. He readily complied; observing that it was a necessary precaution on my part, and that my situation was an excellent one in regard to diet, as I might depend upon finding that extremely moderate.

The only instrument which I could procure, for the purpose of inoculation, was a common pin. With this, having scarified the skin of my hand, between the thumb and forefinger, I applied the matter and bound up my hand. The next morning, I found that the wound had begun to fester; a sure symptom that the application had taken effect.

Many of my former shipmates took the same precaution, and were inoculated during the day. In my case the disorder came on but lightly, and its progress was favorable; and without the least medical advice or attention, by the blessing of Divine Providence, I soon recovered. . . .

The prisoners . . . were confined on the two decks below. My usual place of abode . . . Gun-room, on the centre deck, I was . . .

necessity of descending to the lower dungeon; and during my confinement, I had no disposition to visit it. It was inhabited by the most wretched in appearance of all our miserable company. From the disgusting and squalid appearance of the groups which I saw ascending the stairs which led to it, it must have been more dismal, if possible, than that part of the hulk where I resided. Its occupants appeared to be mostly foreigners, who had seen and survived every variety of human suffering The faces of many of them were covered with dirt and filth; their long hair and beards matted and foul; clothed in rags, and with scarcely a sufficient supply of these to cover their disgusting bodies. Many among them possessed no clothing except the remnants of those garments which they wore when first brought on board, and were unable to procure even any materials for patching these together, when they had been worn to tatters by constant use, and had this been in their power, they had not the means of procuring a piece of thread, or even a needle. Some, and indeed many of them, had not the means of procuring a razor or an ounce of soap.

Their beards were occasionally reduced by each other with a pair of shears or scissors; but this operation, though conducing to cleanliness, was not productive of much improvement in their personal appearance. The skins of many of them were discolored by continual washing in salt water, added to the circumstance that it was impossible for them to wash their linen in any other manner than by laying it on the deck, and stamping on it with their feet, after it had been immersed in salt water, their bodies remaining naked during the operation . . .

As soon as the gratings had been fastened over the hatchways for the night, we generally went to our sleeping-places. It was, of course, always desirable to obtain a station as near as possible to the side of the ship, and, if practicable, in the immediate vicinity of one of the air-ports, as this not only afforded us a better air, but also rendered us less liable to be trodden upon by those who were moving about the decks during the night.

But silence was a stranger to our dark abode. There were continual noises during the night. The groans of the sick and the dying; the curses poured out by the weary and exhausted upon our inhuman keepers; the restlessness caused by the suffocating heat and the confined and poisoned air, mingled with the wild and incoherent ravings of delirium, were the sounds which every night were raised around us in all directions. Such was our ordinary situation; but, at times, the consequences of our crowded condition were still more terrible, and proved fatal to many of our number in a single night.

Eleven ·

1781—THE BRITISH SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN

Before Dring and his fellow-prisoners fell into the hands of the British, the fighting on land had ended

In the early summer of 1781 Lafayette forced Cornwallis, the British commander, into the Peninsula between the York and James rivers southeast of Richmond, Virginia. In August, Cornwallis settled himself at Yorktown. Washington, in a daring move, brought his own army and the French troops of Rochambeau down from New York, thus confronting the British army with an overwhelming force For the first two weeks of October, Americans and French battered at the enemy fortifications, taking one redoubt after another. On the 17th Cornwallis, his situation hopeless, asked for terms. Surgeon James Thacher described the formal surrender, which took place on October 19.

Although two years would pass before [illegible]

Thacher, *A Military Journal*, 346–47.

treaty of peace, the surrender of Yorktown marked the end of the war. There was a kind of grim appropriateness in the fact that Great Britain should lose most of her North American empire within a few miles of the spot where the first tiny colony had been established.

At about twelve o'clock, the combined army was arranged and drawn up in two lines extending more than a mile in length. The Americans were drawn up in a line on the right side of the road, and the French occupied the left. At the head of the former the great American commander, mounted on his noble courser, took his station, attended by his aids. At the head of the latter was posted the excellent Count Rochambeau and his suite. The French troops, in complete uniform, displayed a martial and noble appearance, their band of music, of which the timbrel formed a part, is a delightful novelty, and produced while marching to the ground, a most enchanting effect. The Americans though not all in uniform nor their dress so neat, yet exhibited an erect soldierly air, and every countenance beamed with satisfaction and joy. The concourse of spectators from the country was prodigious, in point of numbers probably equal to the military, but universal silence and order prevailed. It was about two o'clock when the captive army advanced through the line formed for their reception. Every eye was prepared to gaze on Lord Cornwallis, the object of peculiar interest and solicitude; but he disappointed our anxious expectations; pretending indisposition, he made General O'Harra his substitute as the leader of his army. This officer was followed by the conquered troops in a slow and solemn step, with shouldered arms, colors cased and drums beating a British march. Having arrived at the head of the line, General O'Harra, elegantly mounted, advanced to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, taking off his hat, and apologized for the non appearance of Earl Cornwallis. With his usual dignity and politeness his Excellency pointed to Major General Lincoln for directions, by whom the British army was conducted into a spacious field where it was intended they should ground their arms. The royal troops, while marching through the

line formed by the allied army, exhibited a decent and neat appearance, as respects arms and clothing, for their commander opened his store and directed every soldier to be furnished with a new suit complete, prior to the capitulation. But in their line of march we remarked a disorderly and unsoldierly conduct, their step was irregular, and their ranks frequently broken. But it was in the field when they came to the last act of the drama, that the spirit and pride of the British soldier was put to the severest test, here their mortification could *not be concealed. Some of the platoon officers* appeared to be exceedingly chagrined when giving the word "ground arms," and I am a witness that they performed this duty in a very unofficer like manner, and that many of the soldiers manifested a sullen temper, throwing their arms on the pile with violence, as if determined to render them useless. This irregularity, however, was checked by the authority of General Lincoln. After having grounded their arms and divested *themselves of their accoutrements*, the captive troops were conducted back to Yorktown and guarded by our troops till they could be removed to the place of their destination.

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